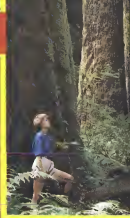


THE ENVIRONMENT: A SPECIAL REPORT

Maclean's



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Its First NDP
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**The Anatomy Of
A Liberal Failure**

**An Interview With
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 12, 1990 VOL. 123 NO. 38

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COVER PHOTO BY STEVE BRIDGES/MACLEAN'S PHOTOGRAPHY

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An Encouraging Vision

Managing Editor Robert Lewis surprised, re-estimated and surpassed every aspect of this week's comprehensive, 42-page Special Report on the environment. His comments:

Before the magazine was even sent to press, we got an angry letter from a reader. "I was disgusted by your hypocrisy in a magazine

that still uses an unrecyclable glossy format," he wrote last month in response to a presentation for this week's Special Report. Like other magazines, Maclean's is indeed part of the problem. But the magazine and its owners are working as hard as anyone to reduce their impact on the environment within their means. Maclean's participates in an office paper-recycling program at Maclean Hunter's Toronto, Ont., printing plant; all liquid waste is sent to a licensed company for disposal. All of the magazine over and waste paper are baled and sent to the Quebec and Ontario Paper Co. Ltd. in Thorold, Ont., where they are de-inked and used in the production of recycled newspaper to enhance strength and brightness.

Unfortunately, the Thorold mill is the only major facility in Canada to use de-inked magazine paper, although de-inked is likely to increase in years ahead. Maclean's also has experimented with a process, called ad-ject printing, that places a subscriber's name

directly on the magazine cover—eliminating the need for a label that contains glue, which impedes the recycling process. As for the coated stock used by magazines, chlorine-free paper is not yet available in North America, and recycled magazine stock, in addition to being susceptible to tearing on plant machinery, is not available in the quantities required by Maclean's.

For the content of the Special Report, Maclean's assigned articles to 26 different writers, ranging from Assistant Editor Diane Brady, who recently joined the staff after graduating from Columbia's journalism school, to veteran Departmental Editor Mark McNelly, who, along with Senior Writer Ross Laver, helped to coordinate the report. In the end, more than 40 people contributed their efforts, including Art Director Nick Barnhart, Designer Eric Legge, Assistant Photo Editor Catherine McNelly, Deputy Chief Researchers Brian Bethune, Sharon Driviger and Scott Stein, Researcher Alexander McNelly, and senior editor Kirsten Vaughan, who this week returns to Carleton University's journalism school.

We have done many environment stories over the years, but it was gratifying to have the space to lay out the big picture. It is a view that readers will find terrifying at times, but one that has an encouraging vision of the future—if we all do what has to be done.

Karen Doyle



Special Report staffers Laver, Legge, McNelly, Nichols, Brady, Vaughan, Designer Gelfo to right; doing what has to be done

Photo by Karen Doyle

Maclean's

DANIELA'S REPLY NOVEMBER 1994

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LETTERS

THE CAREER PATH'S DARK SIDE

Your Sept. 3 articles on successful women were un-erotic, naive and unrealistic, with hardly a reference to the negative aspects to densely life and particularly to the unfortunate children ("Having it all." Gave!) I challenge you to do a follow-up article, but this time on the blacker side of the road to the top. Please interview some of the latchkey children, the opponents of day care, the neighbors, the teachers and other family members. I guarantee that you will find that things are not as rosy as your articles imply.

Joseph W. Gabriel,
Sarnia, Ont.

Women who try to balance their responsibilities as mothers and executives need other people to raise their children, "worry that their children may suffer," and experience lots of guilt. Yes, the women discussed in your article "have it all." I am so glad that, as a full-time, stay-at-home mom, I do not "have it all."

Amy Cape,
London, Ont.

CANADA'S NAVY IS SHIPSHAPE

I feel obligated to reply to comments made by Peter C. Newman in the Sept. 3 issue ("The admiral's prayer" thanks for the crew," Business Week). I agree that Canada desperately needs to have a naval policy that will allow us to conduct independent military operations everywhere, including the Arctic. But I object to Newman's comments about the age of our ships and Canada's relative standing in NATO. Age is not truly relevant if the ships are well-maintained and updated. The Canadian Maritime Command has the best-maintained ships in NATO and the best-trained sailors. Both the Royal Navy and the U.S. navy have much older ships. The American ships are, in fact, sisters of the best-leagues work at Pearl Harbor. The situation is not as bleak as Newman suggests, and the only solution is an affordable and effective naval policy.

Roger Thompson,
Dartmouth, N.S.

A NOT-SO-RARE SPECIES

It's your "rare" item: "The importance of sex and culture" (Sept. 3), you style Melissa Sells as "a member of a rare species—female Canadian country writers." Perhaps not so rare. There are also Elizabeth Brown, Dorothy Gribben, B. Z. Gussner, Edna Godfrey, Alison Gordon, Margaret Miller, Anna Fortin, Marne Jappon, Carol Shultz, Kathleen Timms, L. H. Wright and Eve Zarcova.

Jack McLehane,
Hawke, Ont.



Lawyer Jennifer Ovesen having it all

FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE

Violence is never a solution, but when you are pushed into a corner like the Marhalles, what would you do? "Seeding in the troops," Canada, Sept. 3? Are not the nations of North America striving for the same thing as Quebec—*independence*? At least the franc-

phone population never faced the persecution and superior that the natives face, even now, from the government of Quebec.

Philip Thompson,
Ste-Genevieve, Que.

It is very sad to see that our Prime Minister is invited to Washington to give advice to the President of the United States, but cannot solve the problems in his own backyard.

Prefect van Stratten,
Grande Prairie, Alta.

I find myself transfixed with horror and disbelief as I see our Canadian army poised to strike our native Canadian people of Oka, on the orders of our Prime Minister. This same Prime Minister condemned the massacre in Tiananmen Square in China and has repeatedly spoken out about similar atrocities in South Africa. I believe that what the native people ask is reasonable and fair, yet our Prime Minister is prepared only to play the role of the great bully and humiliate them once again.

Phyllis Malow,
Victoria

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include name, address and telephone number. Mail addresses should be given in full. Letters to the Editor must be signed. Letters should be 100-150 words. Please send SASE if possible.

PASSAGES

DEB: One of the most popular movie stars of the 1930s and 1940s, Irene Dunne, 65, at her home in Los Angeles, A five-time Academy Award nominee, Dunne became famous for her roles in such early comedies as *My Darling Clementine* (1940) and *The Awful Truth* (1937). Critics and peers praised her sense of comic timing, but Dunne preferred her serious dramatic work in such roles as the Swedish immigrant mother in *I Remember Mama* (1948). Dunne grew up in Lewiston, N.Y., and studied music in the hopes of becoming a professional singer. After taking an opera audition, she turned her attention to singing seriously. At the peak of her career, Dunne was one of Hollywood's highest-paid stars.



DEB: British historian and TV personality A. J. P. (Alan John Percival) Taylor, 84, in a London nursing home where he has lived for the past two years since developing Parkinson's disease. Critics considered Taylor one of the world's leading experts on the periods surrounding the two world wars. His popular books, including *The Origins of the Second World War*, were sold at 10p each and 10p each in the paperback world.

DEB: Political activist Stanley Roberts, 44, of a brain tumor in Burnaby, B.C. Roberts began his political career in 1954 as a Liberal member of the Vancouver legislature. Later, after serving as vice-president of Burnaby's Simon Fraser University from 1971 to 1977, he joined the western-based Reform Association of Canada, which

eventually became the Reform Party. Roberts had said that, in recent years, he had become disenchanted with Reform policies.

ENGAGE: Ex-husband of superstar Madonna, half-boy actor Sean Penn, 30, to actress Robin Wright, 27, in a ceremony in the upcoming movie *Sailor Moon*. The couple, who are expecting a child in the spring, will have a civil ceremony this year. They were divorced last year after a turbulent three-year marriage.

HIRE: Italian conductor Claudio Abbado, 57, to succeed the late West German maestro Herbert von Karajan as conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic orchestra. Abbado's seven-year contract entitles him to a wage and benefits package totalling \$575,000 per year.



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OPENING NOTES

Coca-Cola invades the Persian Gulf, Ottawa says goodbye to Hull, and Harold Ballard's cottage defies description

OTTAWA DROPS HULL

Tourism's down and French-English tensions are up—especially in the nation's capital. And although a spokesman for Ottawa Mayor Jim Durnell's office insisted that the action has nothing to do with anti-French feeling, the city is proposing to drop the name of Hull from what has been presented for years as the Ottawa-Hull tourist region. Nationals in the capital have threatened to withdraw their \$80,000 in annual fees to Ottawa and Hull Tourism Inc. If the change is not made. And they complained that Hull's \$4,000-a-year contribution to the same is too little. Hull Mayor Michel Lévesque, who is an avowed Quebec nationalist, has consistently supported the joint tourism effort. But now he declines comment. Said Jeffrey Pelletier, a spokesman for Durnell: "It has nothing to do with being anti-French. We should be promoting one name. In the future, do they promote Washington-Arlington? We promote it now as Ottawa-Hull. When people read that they wonder, 'What's a Hull?'"

Lévesque (left), Durnell: 'nothing to do with being anti-French'



Throwing good money after bad

A penny earned is a chip off the old national debt. At least that seems to be the philosophy of Rick Art, a real estate agent from Newmarket, Ont., who has made attention of Canada's \$380-billion national debt his special mission. In 1989, Art started an organization called Bank on Canada, dedicated to reducing the debt through such fund-raising projects as lotteries, garage sales and corporate donations. Until now, Art had not needed any money, but some companies have contributed stationery and posters, and Penlander Courier Ltd. has donated its services. And last week, Newmarket restaurant owner Frank Nucera became the first businessman to help out by donating one day's proceeds from sales

of fish and chips and home-made hamburgers. Art and Nucera's looked \$220.35. Lower taxes cannot be far behind.



Art: making a difference, one hamburger at a time

GETTING OLDER, NOT HIGHER

The average age of New Scotland's RCMP constables has risen to the point that their morale is suffering. Half of them are 38 or over, and the force's senior ranks are full. Constables, whose top pay rate is \$47,300, have to wait an average of 17½ years for a promotion. Said Canadian Police College psychologist James McGee: "These men need a better of success. They want to be promoted." Added Sgt. James White: "My men are walking time bombs. We have to make changes." Early retirement, anyone?

Barricades on Bay Street?

Toronto residents opposed to Tridel Corp.'s proposed 32-story condominium on Bay Street have added a weapon to their arsenal of objections. They say that they plan to seize Ontario's Mississauga Indians to assert a claim that the land is an ancient burial ground. One resident has conducted a study that he says proves the existence of the site. But city officials dispute the location. Said Tridel vice-president Austin Page: "There is nothing to it. They searched the site with angle eyes, with appliances," he added. "There is no justification for a claim of that nature." A traffic-stopping standoff is the making.

SPORTING GOODS SALE

The homes of such Canadians as Stephen Leacock and Lucy Maud Montgomery have been preserved for posterity by heritage groups. But the summer cottage of another famous Canadian is up for sale. Perched on a lovely overlooking Ontario's Georgian Bay is the lovely shore that Harold Ballard created for his Toronto Maple Leafs. And according to real estate agent Stanley Carbone, the property is well worth the \$700,000 price tag. Carbone said that the cottage is "beyond description." The buildings have bright blue roofs, and the



Cottage: a Maple Leaf shrine

Ballard: not all bad



tile floors with blue maple leaves. The garden has 180 blue and white birches. And towers poles and ships' masts sprout from the lawn. Said Carbone of the attractive Mississauga football star as well, also donated the property with Tiger-Gel logs. Carbone, using the Ballard's estate, said that he has a problem of the prospective buyers as well. "I'd be some guy that's curious about the Toronto Maple Leafs. I'm hoping one will come along." All the place needs is a few golden gooses as status.

A HIGH-MINDED BATTLE FOR FREEDOM

Toronto's *New magazine*, which is facing pro-sectarian charges because it accepts ads placed by prostitutes, is not the only magazine in North America that is fighting for what it refers to be the freedom of expression. *High Times* is a New York City-based magazine that extols the virtues of marijuana use and cultivation. Recently, a grand jury in New Orleans began investigating the publication because it ran ads for the Seed Bank, a Dutch mail-order supplier of marijuana seeds. Civil libertarians say that the magazine, which is based in Canada, is suffering harassment. High Times editor Steven Hager says that he is the victim of a conspiracy to outlaw the drug. He added, "We're the number 1 target of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency." The DEA knows no such agents.

An unbuckled case

Halliburton West Mr. Howard Crosby will not let sleeping dogs lie. After failing to convince the courts in January



Crosby: not a seat belt?

that the seat belt in his 1988 Oldsmobile did not meet the legal definition of a seat belt and that he did not have to wear it, Crosby paid a \$35 fine. Now, he says that he has received a medical prescription for the belt-pressing, he claims, that the judge wrongfully convicted him. Said Crosby: "It's typical of a country judge operating off the seat of his pants." Fighting words.

A thirst for violence

Ever seen the Coca-Cola Co. greenmail Dwight Goodenhouse that a would-be deliverable Coke to American soldiers, whenever they were, far a necked a bottle, were have been going better with Coke. The price has gone up, but the tradition lives on in the Persian Gulf. The company recently donated 20,000 cases of Coke to the war effort, and then set back to work in the spotlight on TV networks. Look for the face of the best, dusty soldiers' coffee: Coke. Now, the company is concluding a lucrative deal that will make the soft drink a regular part of the soldiers' diet. Coca-Cola spokesman Ronald Davidson acknowledged that the expense will be good for business. And some members of the field's American Division wrote Coca-Cola to say that it will be good for morale: "We are all American soldiers and will work for nothing less than the real thing." It beats tap water.

Coke: good for morale—and for business



A TRUE STORY

When I arrived in the Philippines so many years ago, one of the first things I did was to fall in love. She had fine black hair and she used to wear a bright orange dress. She had big, big eyes that would always listen to me, and when she smiled, oh how she would smile! She lived in one of those tropical huts on the shore, the ones you see in postcards, and when she would see me coming, she would run to me as fast as her legs could carry her. My Maria was only two years old.

One day, I was caught in one of those sudden tropical downpours and I ended up with a bad cold. Being one of only two foreigners on the whole island, I was fussed into the provincial hospital with nurses to watch over me by day, and "watchers" for while the nurses were off duty, and all the care and thoughtfulness that only the Filipinos can lavish on you. After a week in the hospital, my cold went away (if I had stayed home, it would have taken seven days), and I went down to find my lovely Maria.

But now Maria had died.

She too had been caught in the same downpour. She too caught a cold. But when she was lying on her mat in the corner, the wind blew through the bamboo walls and the bamboo floor of the postcard tropical hut, and she caught hunchbacks or pneumonias or something terrible, and there was no money for medicines or the doctor and she wasn't strong enough to fight it. So while I rested in my hospital bed, my Marta was born in her tropical island.

That was fifteen years ago.

Today, I met another two-year-old who stole my heart, Minnie. I met her in the malnourished ward of the provincial hospital where she and her mother had been brought. You see, Foster Parents Plan weighs all the little children in our partner families to make sure they're growing properly, and Minnie was not. She was slowly starving because her father couldn't earn enough as a market porter to support his wife and children. Minnie developed a fever, and Gene the community worker had her admitted into the hospital at once. Cluck that Gene found her in time, before she died! Not really, Foster Parents Plan keeps a tab on over 15,000 little children every month of every year.



References



I went to see her and to see how PLAN was helping. The doctrine was fine, but just the beginning. Mariana's mother had been in the Mother's Nutrition Class we ran last month. We couldn't find work for Mariana's father, but we are teaching him how to raise goats so that Mariana and her brothers and sisters can get a glass each of fresh, clean, body-building, life-saving milk every day, and so that her father can earn a little more money with his new skill. And then's the toilet Roster! Parents PLAN's helping them put in next month, and the fresh water project in their village by the end of the year, and a few other things on schedule.

So, when I come home tonight,
I couldn't help thinking about
Mama and Marissa. The differences
between them aren't all that big. It's just
at PLAN has been able to catch one more
little girl before she slipped through our
fingers and was wasted forever. And, of
course, we couldn't be over here if people
like you weren't over there.

So, if anyone ever tells you that helping through PLAN doesn't matter too much, you can do something for me.

Just tell them that what you are about to do is making all the difference in the world. All the difference between Maria and Marias. Help us prove that point today — become a Foster Parent. You just might fall in love with your own Marias.

Chris Papworth
Chris Papworth, Foster Parents Plus

CALL TOLL-FREE ANYTIME 1-(800)-268-7174

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or where the need is greatest _____ Please correspond in English or French
I enclose my first payment of \$67 monthly ☐ \$81 quarterly ☐ \$162 semi-annually
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COLUMN



Once a kinder and
gentler nation

BY DAVID FRANCIS

Every society has its unique morality which influences individual behavior and shapes its economy and politics. And it was a pleasant surprise for me, upon American immigration to Canada in 1966, to find such a fair and generous society north of the border. The United States is a great place to live, providing you are not poor, sick, old or black. In contrast, Canada generously provided the essentials, medical and educational opportunities for all, thus breaking the poverty cycle and allowing the stream to rise to the top. But it is a paradox that Canada's usefulness society has led to a selfish one. Canadians are remarkably silent about what they can do for their country, but when their country can do for them.

The welfare state keeps attorney general of this country and has crept into the political arena, no matter who is in power. The manifestations are everywhere. Protestors vie for federal money. Some demand special privileges over others. The three richest provinces—Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta—recently took Ottawa to court and stopped the federal government from raising money

transfers payments, even though most people agree that spending restraint is needed. Today's voters, virtually all governments continue to build unnecessary schools, prisons, museums or roads. Politicians of every stripe hand out grants and goodies freely. The latest available figures show that in 1994 Canadian governments gave \$9.1 billion in grants to businesses while the Americans gave somewhat more, \$10.6 billion, even though their economy is 12 times larger than ours.

Of course, Canadians get the politics they deserve. Everybody wants something for nothing. Fat-cat corporations line up for grants. Multicultural groups demand that other taxpayers contribute towards keeping alive cultures they left behind. Aborigines break the law, and cost taxpayers a fortune to uphold their "rights." Car workers and other powerful unions hold a gun to employers' heads, de-

Everybody now wants something for nothing, and the result of such selfishness is to sandbag honest workers with soaring taxes

manding overly generous compensation for inflation even though such compensation forces up inflation for the rest of us. Senators and alternates alike award themselves huge raises. The result of such selfishness is to undercompensate workers with ordinary wages and

saving efforts rates, which are the result, is great measure of saving government debts.

I still believe most Canadians are honest and don't abuse government largess, but the rationalizations of the welfare state increase. "If I don't get that government grant, somebody else will" is a common refrain. Others include "I paid into it for years so why shouldn't I collect," "The government's budgeted for it," "Everybody does it," "Canada's a rich country," "Why should Quebec get it all?" "Nobody cares," or that irrational, and self-fulfilling, old saw "The government will waste the money anyway."

Look around for examples I have a neighbor whose son works outdoors during warm months and collects Unemployment Insurance Commission benefits during the four coldest ones. Meanwhile, wait for an untitled workless like himself, at his wage stage, buds in local newspapers every winter. His mother is degraded, but will be content because rates

allow him to refuse a job if it is not exactly what he wants, where he wants to go and at the salary he expects. Another friend got a grant to pay for research he would have been willing to pay for himself if no grant had been available. Then there's an electrician I know who lives on disability benefits even though he could support himself if he retrained in another, nonphysical line of work. It's all perfectly legal, but should not be.

There's also out-and-out crookery: Traders who ask you if you want an invoice made out to a company as work or services can be unfairly written off against corporate profits, clearing taxes you only take cash because they don't pay taxes on their income, or wealthy businessmen who go out for dinner and claim it as a business expense. Still others do not record rent, legal aid or day care subsidies but claim them anyway.

Such people take and never want to give. Case in point is the debate over the Income Goods and Services Tax. Critics fail to mention that the amount the tax will generate will not be more than what is being collected now from an existing hidden manufacturers tax. Also missing from the debate is the fact that the estimated proceeds, about \$19 billion, is a sliver of the \$27.3-billion federal contribution towards tax-related benefits, medical insurance and old-age security payments.

Instead, increasing numbers of Canadians use such tactics as an excuse for indulging in the deplorable practice of border shopping in the United States. They buy goods that are cheaper there because taxes are lower, due, in large part, to less generous social benefits. A flood of misdeeds is typical and begs groaning, clothing, gasoline and other items south of the border all the time. She never discusses goods at the border or pays duty on them even though she is a cancer patient who has had treatments and operations that have probably cost the rest of us hundreds of thousands in medical costs. I don't begrudge paying for her medical services, but she and others who shop south of the border are tax evaders who get benefits and do not pay their fair share of the taxes that must be raised to pay for these benefits.

What happened in Canada? When did the timber, government and hardwood industries turn into a selfish collection of pressure groups who craftily use momentum from spurious promises at the expense of others? When did Canada's government-spirited intention of helping the world's poor turn into a race for handouts and a quest for by-ones? It is not, as you suggest, a desperate quest for a new social contract. It is a desperate quest for a new economic order, and we need answers. Perhaps politicians should only be allowed one, seven-year term to remove recalcitrant lobby groups. Perhaps reformations should be mandatory on all major public expenditures, as is often the case at the state level in the United States, to control costs. Perhaps we should label things properly. How about changing the current term "lobby group" to "pressure group" or "interest group"? Perhaps Michael Wilson and his son, "Canadian" understand the lobby industry. I wish he was right. But I don't think he is.

SHOCK WAVES



Premier-elect Rae with wife Sherry; Peterborough and wife Shelley (right); voters registered their distrust of politicians

ONTARIO EJECTS THE LIBERALS AND ELECTS ITS FIRST-EVER NDP GOVERNMENT

The shocked cheers arose spontaneously among the New Democrats gathered at Robert Rae's campaign headquarters at a northeast Toronto banquet hall. "We want the province," Rae's elated supporters chanted, as they waited for the first socialist ever to be elected premier in Ontario. Then, when Rae arrived, the crowd erupted in shouts of "Premier Bob, Premier Bob." From the look of dazed euphoria on Rae's bespectacled face as he waited for the chance to speak, the new role was taking time to sink in. So soon, plainly, was the reality of the convincing sweep in the Sept. 6 election that left the New Democratic Party at the helm

of a province with 37 per cent of Canada's population, controlling 49 per cent of the national economy. Convinced as embattled Rae in his victory speech: "I did not expect this result."

Crushing: Few Ontarians did. Certainly, the outcome took Liberal Premier David Peterson by surprise. Facing the crushing loss of more than 90 Liberal seats—including his own in London Centre—a deeply shaken Peterson abandoned his supporters by announcing that he still resigns as Liberal leader. It was Peterson whose formation of a minority government—with NDP support—in 1985 ended 62 years of dynamic Conservative rule in Ontario. Two years later, he went on to win a landslide

victory, taking 95 of the legislature's 136 seats—while the New Democrats formed the official Opposition with 13, leaving the Tories with 16. Last week, the election of the 43-year-old Rae at the head of the province's first non-conservative completed Ontario's transformation from a bastion of Tory stability. Some analysts said that the province has become a bellwether of political change, where shifting allegiances hold implications for voters—and politicians—across the country.

Peterson: Many of those analysts noted the politically lethal effect of what has been called "the Mulroney factor." Peterson had supported Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney throughout the divisive debate over the Meech Lake constitutional accord. As a result, Mulroney's widespread unpopularity hurt the Liberal premier as well. It may also have hampered the efforts of the provincial Tories, under new leader Michael Harris, to stage a comeback. In the end, the Tories, who reluctantly attacked the Peterson government for high taxes, elected voter sympathy but not votes as the electorate turned its back on the Liberals. The Conservatives picked up a mere three seats, increasing their standing to 30. The Liberals needed the night with 36 seats, down from 92 when the election was called. And Rae's rise, which had put 19 seats in the next legislature, surged to a decisive majority with 74 seats.

The dramatic upset appeared to reflect a deep well of distrust in the electorate—directed at politicians in general and the political process itself. Many voters said that the election call itself, less than three years into the Liberals' five-year mandate, was an attempt by Peterson to capitalize on his party's and his own personal popularity. And with the failure of Conservative and Liberal politicians alike to resolve complex national issues, such as constitutional reform, many voters responded by turning to the one major party that did not—at least in Ontario—carry the baggage of a toxic office.

Unhappily: Conservative pollster Allan Gregg, chairman of Decima Research Ltd., said that the results represented not so much a revolt towards socialism as a shift away from the traditional parties. Added Gregg: "Voters are voting to the political wheelchair power in the 1980s, 'A year on all your backs.'" In doing so, Ontarians chose as their next leader an extremely private family man who, friends say, never goes out (page 26). Formerly known as Leonard Weir, a friend of Rae's for more than two decades, "People do not

realize how strong he is. The guy is made of steel." And despite their apparent distrust of other politicians, they also chose a premier committed to extending the reach of government into their daily lives—with state-managed insurance, stronger pay-equity legislation, a higher minimum wage and other measures.

The lack of disbelieve on the public's part of many New Democrats on election night suggested that even they had not anticipated the massive swing. "It is a history come true," said Stephen Lewis, former UN ambassador and one of Rae's predecessors as Ontario's first leader, who now is in charge of the new leader's transition team. But, for the Liberals, it was a nightmare. In his state at London's Radisson Hotel, Peterson was visibly nervous as he watched TV accounts reduced the extent of the shift. But the Liberals had begun to anticipate in the final weeks of the campaign. Then, appearing before what was believed to be a victory celebration, Peterson announced to his supporters that he was stepping down as Liberal leader—and accepted full blame for his party's massive loss. "Any shortcomings were mine," he said.

Bummer: Indeed, it had become increasingly clear from public and party polls in the final days that Peterson's early election call would likely prove to be the worst political miscalculation of his career. Yet, said the campaign, began on July 30, the arguments in favor of the early vote had appeared compelling. Had Peterson waited for a later date, he might well have found himself fighting an election during a recession. Another consideration was the country's constitutional future in the wake of



National Notes

TO THE SENATE

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney named former New Brunswick premier Richard Hatfield and two other loyal Tories to the Senate in his continuing effort to reduce the Liberal majority in the upper house. Hatfield, Montreal insurance executive John Spivak and Halifax lawyer Donald Oliver join five other Conservatives named to the Senate a week earlier.

STUDYING THE FUTURE

Quebec's national assembly unanimously approved a bill to create a 25-member commission to study the province's role in Canada following the demise of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. In a statement on the commission's task, Premier Robert Bourassa argued in favor of preserving strong political and economic ties with Canada.

FIFTYFIVE IMMIGRATION

The independent Ottawa-based Institute for Research on Public Policy urged the federal government to freeze immigration targets at 1990 levels for at least two years because of a decline in industrial jobs available in Canada.

CLOSE TO A DEAL

Energy Minister John Egge said that an agreement among Ottawa, Newfoundland and an oil-company consortium to start development of the Hibernia oilfield off the coast of Newfoundland—under negotiation for 26 months—may be imminent.

BREAKING THE ICE

The federal cabinet passed an order exempting the U.S. icebreaker Polar Sea from Canadian pollution regulations. The Polar Sea is tentatively scheduled to make a trip this month through the Northwest Passage—which Canada claims but which the United States says is an international waterway. The icebreaker traversed the passage without requesting Canadian permission in 1985, after which the United States agreed to ask for Canadian permission for future voyages. The external affairs department has yet to get granted permission for this year's trip.

BILLING FANTASY

B.C. Premier William Vander Zanden said Fantasy Garden World, his theme park in Richmond, B.C., is a Taiwanese business conglomerate for a reported \$14.5 million. Provincial vice Leader Michael Harcourt accused Vander Zanden of abusing advantages of his position in dealing with the firm, whose chairman met last week with B.C. officials to discuss business opportunities.

THE 'MULRONEY FACTOR' FUELED ANGER OVER AN EARLY ELECTION

the Melech Lake accord's failure. With Quebec already looking towards a fresh round of constitutional demands, it seemed prudent to hold an election during the relative calm of summer—rather than later, when fear-motivated disunion threatened to rack the country. But the premier never seemed able to make the case for an early vote convincingly. Peterson also underestimated the NDP's readiness to launch an effective campaign of its own.

It just, that restless restlessness that comes from knowing that the tide is about to turn. Peterson was about to call an even earlier election. Because of that, Rae's party had already prepared its election strategy—often developing key "media lines"—the slogans that would form the heart of the party's appeal for support. But the party's early campaign optimism soon melted from the inevitable rain of a period of laughter and gloom that followed a string of personal tragedies—including the death of his younger brother, David, of cancer in June, 1989—Rae propelled himself into the campaign with a vigor that startled some observers. Rae told Mulroney during the campaign that he had "decided that the last battle for my brother was to pull up my socks."

Trag: Rae put that tribute by conducting a campaign of black-and-white preaching and painted effectiveness. Throughout its 37 days, he tirelessly attacked "the Peterson government." Early in the campaign, he bitterly accused Peterson of "lying." Later, he portrayed the Liberal program as the price of big business. Among his favorite targets was the Liberal record on the environment. Returning to the same bad week, he scheduled a helicopter flight over the Hamiltown area community of Hagersville, where a 17-day fire at a pulp dump last February forced hundreds of residents from their homes—prejudicially benefiting TV network CTV. Seeing that the Liberals had contributed a \$5 tax on new cars last year and had promised that the money would be used for fire disposal, Rae charged, "They used the environment as an excuse to raise the tax—and then they did not invest the money to deal with the problem."

At the same time, Rae avoided making direct commitments of his own. Said his campaign director, David Agnew, "We were determined not to fall into the trap of making a promise a day." But Rae did make some pledges. They included a far-reaching economic agenda that would cost \$4.2 billion, to be financed at least in part by a minimum eight-per-cent tax on business profits—and from a \$1-billion provincial deficit for the next two years. Among Rae's



Conservative Harris and family: more seats—but less of the vote

other economic promises: to limit rent increases to six per cent of inflation, and to tax individual incomes earned from real estate speculation and idleness of more than \$1 million.

Thumbs-up: Those plans generated apprehension among many business leaders (page 22). But throughout the campaign, the embattled welcome that voters gave him suggested that he was striking a responsive chord. As the leaders crisscrossed the province, layabouts inequately greeted Rae's bus tours with thumbs-up signs in stark contrast. Peterson's buses frequently attracted considerably more jeers.

Indeed, some key Liberal organizers said

that they began to see problems very early in the campaign. Campaign strategy chairman David MacNaughton, for one, noted that canvassers often reported voters to be "quiet and polite." Said MacNaughton last week: "It may be quiet and polite, you know you are in a big bubble." The Liberals attempted to recapture their momentum with promises—notably a hastily prepared, non-campaign pledge by Peterson to lower the province's eight-per-cent sales tax to seven per cent for at least a year. But many voters said that was another opportunistic attempt to buy votes.

Then, in the Aug. 27 vote of Maricopa's Conservative campaign chairman John Lashchewski revealed that his private polling showed that Liberal popularity had fallen 10 points from its 39-per-cent support level at the start of the campaign. That trend was confirmed in an Aug. 28 *Business Research Group* poll. And a mere four days later, and less than a week before the election, a poll conducted by the Winnipeg-based Angus Reid Group gave the New Democrats a decisive lead with 38-per-cent support, among decided voters, compared with 34 and 30 for the Tories. Those figures were remarkably close to the actual popular vote: New 37.6 per cent, Liberals 32.4 per cent, Tories 29.5 per cent.

Bitter: Those polls rocked the Peterson campaign—and sparked a string of bitter denials as the premier took the offensive, warning against what he called the irresponsible notion of the "30s." "This is not the time to gamble in some cockamamie statistical view of how to run this province," he declared. "The way, he claimed, would plunge the province into a deep and painful recession. "You know what recession is?" Peterson asked. "It's when you don't have a job."

It's when your kids don't have enough to eat. You think about that." On Thursday night, it became clear that if the voters had thought about Peterson's warnings, they had rejected them. But as the waves of midday reporting sent victories climbing relentlessly, it was also evident that the charges of political opportunism and grandiosity contained were being detected among the Peterson campaign were not enough to explain the Liberals' crumbling loss. Some experts noted that Peterson's constitutional alliance with Mulroney, whose federal Conservatives are currently running a poor third in opinion polls, had proved to be a political alibi. Said Neil Iyich, a professor of political science at Laurier

University in Sudbury: "The belongs to the widely the supposed Mulroney government have overthrown as David Peterson." However, federal Tories say that they expect like to provide equally strong support in constitutional reform. Added Senator Lowell Murray, Mulroney's minister for intergovernmental relations: "The day an Ontario premier is not in that tradition, Canada is dead."

Other analysts attributed the Liberal loss to a widespread distrust of all politicians among voters. For one, and that over the past 10 years, his surveys have found that the number of people who now politicians as honest and trustworthy has dropped by 38 per cent since 1979. And the Liberal government's own scandals may have contributed to that erosion. Peterson's campaign was dogged by questions about the handling of the investigation of Liberal fund-raiser Prince Star, who faces a total of 44 charges stemming from his alleged misuse of charitable funds for political purposes.

Other observers linked the public's low regard for politicians to the elected leaders' failure to resolve such divisive issues as the country's constitutional deadlock and the continuing unrest among Indians. Indeed, in the wake of the Jan. 23 failure of March 1989, when President Mulroney's administration had not been able to secure a settlement with the province of Quebec, Mulroney's administration had not been able to secure a settlement with the province of Quebec.

After Peterson's ruling, there were concerns that other political leaders across the country are questioning any electoral alliances of this kind. In British Columbia, Premier William Vander Zanden, who had been considering an informal coalition, appeared to be rethinking his strategy. The B.C. premier said that his government would examine the Ontario election results "very closely." He added, "If it was an independent government I will have to think about that."

Consensus: Peterson was, at least in part, the victim of a public backlash against established politicians, but Adams, for one, said that Rae's victory is a sign that the new's traditional theme of social concern has found a newly receptive audience. He added that the new coalition shows that many Canadians are dissatisfied with the highly visible image of entrepreneurial materialism of the 1980s. "We have had a decade where business and entrepreneurship were king," said Adams. "Now, Canadians want the emphasis on traditional

Canadian values—strong ethical values." After apprehension among business leaders about the potential dangers of a socialist government, Peterson's victory quickly sent signals that they will proceed cautiously. For one thing, during the campaign, Rae had harshly attacked the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. He added that his government would



NDP stalwarts White (left) and Lewis: "It is a fantasy come true"

preserve Ontario's farm-product marketing boards—which the Americans say are determined to eliminate as part of the free trade talks. The New Democrats adopted a wiser approach. In an interview with Mulroney's Rae avoided dealing directly with the issue. And party executive Robert White, president of the Canadian Auto Workers union and one of the firm's hardest critics, would only say after the election that the new



Byrd celebrating victory over Peterson's exhortation

government "will have to take [it]." Those who knew Rae well, meanwhile, said that he is anything but doctrinaire in his social democratic beliefs. Declared White: "If people think they have a radical socialist on their hands, they are crazy. [Rae] is not set on a radical type. He is very conservative in every way—the way he dresses, the way he thinks, the way he operates. He doesn't change things overnight."

Task: Rae may be forced to lighten his cautious pace, however, by Peterson's exhortation to shed his responsibilities as premier. Although by the weekend on date had been set for the transfer of power to the New Democrats, Peterson said last week that he would like to take place quickly. Meanwhile, Rae will also have to choose a cabinet from a caucus of 54 men and 18 women that includes lawyers, teachers, nurses, accountants, a design rights activist—and a founding 60 roller skater. Among them is Marion Byrd, the 44-year-old administrator of a Toronto women's centre in London, who was unceremoniously dubbed "Queen of the Skat" for her

striking victory over Peterson by a 3,000-vote margin. But Byrd and Peterson made her task simple: "We didn't defend a single all-candidates debate," she said. "The people of Ontario killed him, not me."

Peterson, meanwhile, retreated into seclusion on the family's farm near London to consider his immediate future. Rae immediately asked him to go to Tokyo next week, as planned, to help promote Toronto's bid for the 1996 Olympic Games. Peterson's decision on the Olympic site is scheduled to be announced in the Japanese capital on Sept. 19. Another longer-term role already being suggested for Peterson leading a federal commission that Mulroney has promised will seek the views of Canadians on how the country should resolve its constitutional deadlock.

For Ontario's 9.5 million residents, meanwhile, there remains a great deal to be seen about what their new premier will do. And as the province took its first steps into the unknown territory of a social democratic government, there was also the nagging hope that Robert Rae would not prove to be just another politician from the same mold in whom they had so firmly expected.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GREGG W. SMITH AND MARY JAMANN FOR THE CANADIAN PRESS. STYLING BY GINA AND MARY WOOD FOR L'Espresso

MAKING OF A PREMIER

WORKING WITH THE POOR CHANGED RAE

The young lawyer Leonard Wise has known Robert Rae for long enough to remember a time when Ontario's own premier-elect could not get served at fancy Toronto restaurants. Wise, a friend of Rae's since 1966, recalled an occasion in the early 1970s when Rae, then a financially strapped law student, accompanied him to the peak spots of Kitz restaurant on Toronto's Yonge Street. The maître d' welcomed Wise—but turned Rae away. Asked for an explanation, the maître d' replied, "Just look at him." Wise said Rae was wearing an orange short-sleeved western-style crop, green construction boots, a plaid lumberjack shirt and jeans. Unfazed, Wise protested to the clearly unimpressed waiter that "you could be turning away the next premier of Ontario." At the time, it was nothing more than a joke, although clearly gilded with wit and a keen intelligence. Rae had not even run for elected office.

Last week, when the 42-year-old premier-elect could have dined at the most elegant table in Ontario's capital, Rae chose instead to celebrate on the evening after his victory by taking his three daughters—Elleanor, Lisa and Judith, aged 5, 7 and 8—in a baseball game. The choice was characteristic, however, of the many personality traits that form the personality of the first socialist to win power in Canada's westcoast province.

Rae: The son of a career diplomat, Rae grew up to comfortable circumstances in Ottawa, Washington and Geneva. But he found his vocation while working in the slums of London. And despite a slight, 130-lb. frame, his athletic abilities helped him to win a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford. According to old friends, his attitudes against tenure did not prevent him from having a choice of female company and his marriage in 1940 to wife-pioneer Arlene Pryor. And although Rae absorbed from his father's family a taste for showmanship—which he often demonstrates at the podium—his making of his way as a shy man who guards his emotions and finds his greatest satisfaction in hours of silent fishing. Observed Wise, who often accompanies Rae to fish on the Rideau Lakes south of Ottawa: "He likes the solitude like it doesn't talk. He catches fish. He's very, very good at it."

Indeed, Rae has been good at virtually everything he has ever tackled. Moving across the globe with his career diplomat father, Rae picked up an early fluency in French. During a period in Washington in the 1950s, Rae acquired a fascination with American history—in what was a paper route that included Richard Nixon as a customer. Rae recalls that the future president was a poor tipper.

By the end of the 1960s, Rae was a student

line of the need to redress poverty. Returning to Canada, Rae studied labor law at the University of Toronto.

His left-leaning political beliefs took on concrete form when he made his first bid for public office in 1970, winning a federal by-election for the NDP in the Toronto riding of Broadview. That choice of politics set Rae at odds with his older brother, John Rae, a vice-president of Montreal-based Power Corp., as a Liberal who earlier this year directed Jean Chrétien's successful campaign for that party's federal leadership. In 1979, the younger Rae became the NDP's finance critic, earning a reputation for well-researched questions and a tart form of phrase.

Pake: In 1982, Rae won the leadership of the Ontario NDP. Said former vice federal secretary Gerald Caplan: "He wanted to be premier. I told him I did not think that was realistic." Indeed, to party gurus a dark victory in the next provincial election in 1985—and Rae found himself supporting a minority government led by Liberal David Peterson. Two years later, the Liberals won a large majority. The turn of events, friends say, left Rae bitter. Observed Caplan: "He felt that he had saved Peterson's bacon, that the only reason the Liberals had an option is because he gave them one."

At the same time, tragedy marked Rae's personal life. First, his wife's parents died in a car crash in 1985. Then, in June, 1989, his younger brother David died of cancer at 35, after Rae underwent a painful bone marrow transplant as an attempt to save his life. Those personal trials, say critics, were the main reason that Rae did not run for the recent leadership of the federal NDP last fall.

But with his decision not to leave the provincial arena resoundingly vetoed, Rae now confronts his most difficult challenge yet. Those who know him say that his quick intelligence will prove his strongest asset. A potential weak point: a sensitivity to criticism. Said Wise: "I have seen some of the criticism that Rae will have to develop a much thicker skin to absorb the withering attacks that are inevitably directed at the officer that he is about to occupy."

BRIAN BERGMAN with MARY JANIGAN
in Toronto



Rae: expressing a determination to work with, and to challenge, business

THE RAE AGENDA

IT'S IMPORTANT TO BE REALISTIC

The NDP's stunning electoral win in Ontario last week raised many questions about the new government's plan for the province. Maclean's Senior Writer Greg W. Taylor interviewed premier-elect Robert Rae in his office on the morning after the election. Excerpts.

Maclean's: How will you ensure the business sector doesn't move over a social democratic government?

Rae: I am quite determined to be open, to sit down with people and really talk about what is going on, what the state of the economy really is and what we can do about it. As we go through the budget preparation, it will be a very open and consultative process. We are determined to hear from everybody. I know that we have to get along with each other. We have to reach a better sense of understanding of what we are all about. The marketplace, the private sector, produces jobs in this economy, and we want to make sure that it keeps on.

At the same time, I feel that business has

never done a terrific job of living up to its social responsibility. I know I am going to get a lot of letters from business about the way they work. Let me return the favor and say that if the business community would come up with some solutions to some of the major social problems of the day, there would be grounds for a real dialogue. The view that governments can do things about poverty and social problems while business is occupied solely with its own bottom line is too narrow a vision. That is something that needs to change.

Maclean's: How ready has retired the expectations of progress on environmental and labor issues. Does that present difficulties?

Rae: There are things that we can do to try to make those expectations more realistic. I am under no illusions that I was brought in as some kind of savior. It's important for everyone to be realistic about how much can be done to be thinking, "How can we build a government and an economy in a society that is fast enough to

move our standards? There is a lot riding on our doing a good job. Maclean's: How have made some expensive promises during the election. What can we expect to see?

Rae: Those programs will be based on our life as a government over a period of four or five years. It depends on the state of the economy and government revenues. But you also have to remember that if you don't do some things now, the benefits are lost. Governing is a matter of getting the balance of the time.

Maclean's: What should politicians across the country learn from this election?

Rae: I have a very keen sense that the feeling of the public and the will of the electorate can change quite dramatically—and sometimes quite briefly. I think what happened to Mr. Thompson is an object lesson for anyone in politics. The lesson is, "Be very careful and watch your rhetoric and stay very close to people and never take anything for granted."

Maclean's: As premier, will you change your approach to politics?

Rae: It is essential for the premier to be somebody who has a responsibility to the whole province. You are really governing on behalf of all of the people. You have to take on a less partisan role.

Maclean's: If the American demand that, under the Free Trade Agreement, Ontario Air get rid of such protective agencies as air monitoring boards, what will you do?

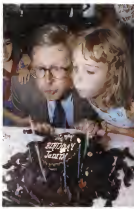
Rae: We cannot be persuaded by someone else's interpretation of the agreement. We will not just let it be done and do. The last federal election did not finally settle the free trade question. I do not think that Canadians have yet come to terms with the implications of the agreement and, when they do, I think that the issue will be resolved. And right now, there is no way of addressing the real grievances that Canadian workers face with the agreement. It is a huge problem for us. What we have to do is protect the interests of the workers of this province. At the same time, we have to recognize that whatever should be done—to go ahead, to abrogate or whatever—is at the discretion of the federal government.

Maclean's: How do you see your national role in light of the behavior of Meek Lobo?

Rae: I believe profoundly that the country still has room for constitutional reform. The last process was flawed and failed, but I regard that with a failure of a process. I still believe that federalism that is flexible and fair is the best solution for this country.

Maclean's: Where you supported the Meek Lobo amendment, you appeared to support Quebec. Can that stance continue?

Rae: My job now is to represent the citizens of this province, and I think the people of this province are very much in Quebec to stay with Confederation. I also think they are a Constitution which reflects their interests and concerns as much as it reflects the concerns of other parts of the country. The lesson from Meek is that you simply can't impose a solution from on high that deals with one group and doesn't deal with everyone else's agenda. C



Rae and daughter Judith at a fair for showmanship

activist, leading demonstrations against the Vietnam War. And when he went to Oxford University in 1966, he then together a graduate degree in public law social democracy. But Rae's academic interest in politics was belated with firsthand exposure to the consequences of disadvantage. After leaving Oxford, he spent two years in a social worker in the impoverished districts of north London—an experience, he has told friends, that convinced

BAY STREET TREMORS

BUSINESS ADVISES RAE TO ACT CAUTIOUSLY

Supporting dark double-breasted suits, expensive shoes and swish glasses, Ontario NDP Leader Robert Rae could easily pass as a young Bay Street executive. But any similarity with Ontario's business elite ends there. Back last year Rae abandoned a rally in the provincial election campaign, he was fearful of dread washing through the country's financial sector by evoking the specter of Canada's tradition-steeped socialist movement. Among the first people that Ontario's premier-designate paid homage to in his election-night acceptance speech were two heroes of Canadian socialism: Tommy Douglas and David Lewis. In the business community those names are synonymous with demands for higher taxes and increased constraints on corporations. And the day after the NDP went to power last week, investors and lenders reacted by selling off stocks and Canadian dollars.

The value of the Canadian dollar, already weakened by a slowing economy, sank by more than half a cent as it is stands the day after the NDP victory. And on the same day, investors drove the Toronto Stock Exchange's Composite 300 Index down by 26 points. Roderick Foster, vice-president of foreign exchange trading in the Bank of Montreal, noted that there were already signs that Canada was going into a recession. "If you throw to a government that is not necessarily pro-business," he added, "then that has to be a concern." And in New York City, potential investors besieged Canadian bond traders with anxious telephone calls about the new history.

Fear: Rae's own campaign promises identified a range of challenges to the private sector—from a minimum corporate tax to general-run tax increases and a minimum wage of \$7 an hour, as increases over the current \$5. But he quickly sought to reassure his potential backers on election night that working with business to maintain a strong marketplace and create jobs would be the centerpiece of his administration. "We have to work with all sectors of our community to build confidence in the future of our economy," said Rae. And some business leaders also went out of their way to caricature their differences with the new. Sud Thirion, chairman of Toronto-based Brosses Ltd., "There is no need to panic. I

thought that Bob's victory speech was gracious and I noted his careful reference to work for all of the community—not just certain elements."

Other business executives predicted that the realities of governing the province would quickly abandon Rae's expansive social and tax agenda. Poted Edward Needell, executive vice-president of economic and corporate affairs with the Royal Bank of Canada, "There is

corporate profits. Lloyd Atkinson, executive vice-president and chief economist at the Bank of Montreal, said that the tax would drive business out of Ontario and into the United States. Added William (Bill) Lillman, president of Toronto-based Hens International Business Inc., "We will have to view it in the overall context of the overall economic environment."

At the same time, other experts noted that Ontario's weakening economic climate will make it difficult for Rae to live up to some campaign commitments, including a pledge to spend public money to create jobs and protect workers who are laid off. William Robson, senior policy analyst at the Toronto-based C.D. Howe Institute, said that his nervous will decline as Ontario moves towards a recession. The Liberals had already strained the province's economy with increases in tax rates and spending. "Noted that the federal government has also increased taxes over the past three years," Robson added, "Finally, we have run out of room to manoeuvre."

But meanwhile, other leading businesses, including Equinox Life Insurance Co. chairman Hal Jackson, a prominent Toronto Tory, called for a temporary truce with the NDP. "I can assure you that if we as business people are nervous about them, they are nervous about us," Jackson said. "The big problem in my view is not with the new government but with the private sector—that they may deal with a chip on their shoulders. There is a lot of conservatism to be established."

Immediately following the election, Rae seemed determined to communicate. He told Maclean's "I've already talked to many people. I'm determined to talk about the state of the economy." But as businessmen listened carefully, they seemed to hear the echoes of Tommy Douglas and David Lewis in the background.

TOM FENNELLS with
BARBARA ROBERTSON in Toronto



Bay Street: cautioning on the NDP to temper its rhetoric

a difference between policy rhetoric and actual policy." Specifically, Needell said that Rae would have trouble raising the minimum wage to \$7 by the end of his mandate. "The majority of people who work for minimum wage work for small business, and those businesses can't afford to pay too much," said Needell. "If you put the minimum wage too high, you just cause unemployment." Other executives said that Rae would have to move cautiously on his plan to introduce a minimum eight-per-cent tax on

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COVER

BEHIND THE LIBERAL ROUT

HOW THE PARTY MISREAD THE PUBLIC

The two Liberal party workers had been calling voters all day, anxiously trying to get supporters out to the polls in David Peterson's London Centre riding. Finally, 30 minutes before the

party that had begun in opposition to the Conservatives for 39 years. Within two years, Peterson exchanged his thick glasses for contact lenses, trimmed his figure with regular jogging and traded his gaudy suits for well-tailored dark suits and the red ties that quickly became his trademark. With his gleaming tan suit and casual speaking style, his TV image was changing. In May, 1985, he held the Tories to only 52 seats in the 138-seat legislature. The following month, with the support of the new, he became premier. Two years later, he called another election and considered his grip on the office with a crushing sweep of 95 seats.

Peterson: Until his election, he was a political life as opposed to be charmed. When he entered the campaign, polls showed that the party had the support of 56 per cent of the voters—and that 40 per cent were satisfied with the government's performance. Peterson, himself enjoyed a reputation for political poise. The national station, in particular, had grown during the course of the protracted Meech Lake constitutional talks, in which he had made an unexpectedly generous offer to give up some of Ontario's Senate seats in order to help bridge the gap between Quebec and the provinces.

Peterson began by inheriting a prosperous family electronics business and marrying the beautiful daughter of a rich food developer, across Shelley Matthews. The couple now have three children, Benjamin, Chloë and Adam. First elected to represent his western Ontario riding in 1975, Peterson won the party leadership in 1982, taking over a

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erred badly in his decision to seek a third mandate barely three years after his second term—and two years before the law required another election. For one thing, the party's electoral machine was not prepared for the contest. Five days after the call, Liberal campaign headquarters still did not have a working telephone system. When voters boarded Peterson's bus for the first time, they discovered that the sophisticated computer equipment designed to ease their workload had not been unpacked. In response to attacks on the Liberal record of his successes, Peterson hastily announced a one-percentage-point reduction in the provincial sales tax, to take effect on Jan. 1. But his principal speech writer, Seymour Kasowitch, had been given less than 24 hours to prepare the announcement.

Kasowitch: By the campaign's closing days, the flurry had left many key workers bitter. They blamed the dog-eat-dog and campaign chairman Kathryn Robinson, a lawyer and former provincial party president. Declared Kasowitch: "Our campaign strategy group was the ship of fools and Kathryn was captain. Frankly, the captain of the Titanic had a better sense of where he was going and how to get there." For her part, Robinson called the Titanic reference unfair, but she accepted responsibility for the campaign's failure, saying that she had underestimated "a mood of anxiety or cynicism among voters." But other workers blamed Peterson himself. They said that he personally directed the campaign's last desperate days of haphazard appearances in ridings where the party looked increasingly shaky. Said one veteran aide, who asked for anonymity: "He lost touch with people and didn't use his judgment."

Added another, who also asked not to be named: "The Sun has been a disaster." Confronted with private polls predicting a near majority, Robinson considered one last gamble. With the election just five days away, Robinson asked an aide to draft an open letter—to be published in Ontario newspapers—in which, according to Kasowitch, Peterson was to "get down on his knees, do a new edgic [sic] for the past five years. She wanted him to say 'I'm sorry about this and I'm sorry about that. I was wrong and I'll never do it again.'" At that, Shelley Peterson bristled. Kasowitch said, telling her that she would rather see him go down fighting. Peterson agreed.

In the end, he brought his campaign—and his current political career—to a close with honor and dignity. After receiving the first devastating election results with nervous laughter, Peterson retreated to a private room with Shelley. The enraged former aides of the shopped politician that had increasingly courted his appearances in the campaign's final days. Finally, he told fearful supporters: "There is no disgrace in getting knocked down. The only disgrace is in not getting back up." At the back of the hall, Kasowitch said regretfully. It was a line the speech writer had heard over a year ago and filed away, hoping that the premier would never have to use it.

NANCY WOOD in London



Peterson, unconvincing

Apocalypse in waiting

Tensions heighten in the Mohawk camp

It was a week in which protesters drove across the Merivale Bridge into Montreal for the first time since armed Mohawks blocked the route on July 11. And in another encouraging action of the other flash point in the six-week-old crisis, soldiers of the Canadian Forces removed the last lanes from the highway running through the community of Oka, 20 km west of Montreal. But the unresolving struggle over native rights remained far from resolved. Indians protesting the federal and Quebec governments' handling of the after-closed highway in New Brunswick, Ontario and British Columbia and toppled hydro towers near London, Ont. And in Oka, more than 600 troops of the Canadian Forces were sent to the Mohawk Warrior hollows and their camp. Several hundred troops in the area were sent to the Oka area to enforce the law. The three towers toppled after an Indian was severely injured in an altercation with a military reconnaissance patrol that shipped over the lines under the cover of darkness. Montreal's *Correspondent* Dave Shepherd wrote that the week behind the Warriors' line. His report:

To many of the natives in the Warriors' last stronghold, the looping rails of the train were that the army quickly put in place around them stood as a sharply focused symbol of their historic battle. Once again, said one of the Warriors' senior advisors, Lucas Thompson, the white man's government was trying to crush the spirit of Indians, corralling them in a small and strategically indefensible scrap of territory—a makeshift reservation. But the compound around the large, gabled cottage housing the treatment centre soon resembled a wartime concentration camp more than a reserve. By midweek, the narrow strip of shoreline separating the Mill at the rear of the centre from the Ottawa River was under the sights of an army machine-gun. At night, military searchlights mounted on armored personnel carriers swept ready tubes of light through the gaps, blinding Warriors crouched inside a line of newly dug defensive bunkers. "I used to think Canada was a good country," said one young Kanesatake woman working in the camp. "Now, it is no better than South Africa."

Most of the two dozen militants who remained in the patch of woods surrounded by the army said that they belonged to Warrior societies of two Mohawk reserves, Kahnawake, south of Montreal, and Akwesasne, straddling the international border near Cornwall, Ont. But the group also included two Micmacs from Cape Breton, an Ojibwa from Western Canada, a white construction worker from Brooklyn, N.Y., and a 15-year-old French-Canadian raised in Oka. Most identified themselves only by pseudonyms. Repeatedly they expressed a defiant willingness to die rather than abandon their claim to represent a sovereign native nation. But privately, some of the Warriors acknowledged that they did not want to become martyrs. As one 20-year-old who called himself Hunter completed his length of trench, he declared, "There, I've dug my grave." But asked later whether he really expected to die in a battle with the army, Hunter replied, "No. But it helps to joke about it."

Still, the Warriors clearly were ready to fight. Several times during the week, they greeted indications of army advances by rushing to their battle positions in the pines, where they crouched with guns leveled. And by midweek, they had reinforced their war-bound enclave with an eclectic series of bunkers strengthened with logs, sand and cement.

But it was apparent that the Mohawks would win out only in a measure as any army commanders had earlier warned. There was no evidence of the army's pouring 800-7 rocket-propelled



AP/WIDE WORLD

Warrior and soldier face off across the razor wire at Oka; joking about death

grenades and mortar that military spokesmen had earlier said the Indians possessed. Instead, one 20-year-old Warrior nicknamed Black Jack spent part of the week bolstering the native Arsenal with home-made napalm grenades constructed by pop bottles from gasoline. Ink detergent and charcoal. Another Warrior, a 15-year-old Mohawk identified as Four-twenty, had a stock of arrows tipped with explosive

charges fashioned from bullets and shotgun shells. Said Four-twenty: "If the army comes in, I'll use the bow and arrows first, then I'll start shooting."

But, for the most part, the tensions were momentary and the prevailing mood of grim humor relieved by curiosity and off-pitch touches of the mundane. In the centre's backyard, several of the younger Warriors drove golf

balls off the high slope above the Ottawa River towards patrolling provincial police boats. Elsewhere in the compound, another Warrior passed time by showing a five-year-old boy—one of half a dozen children who, along with a score of pariahs and Mohawk women, remained behind the Warrior line—how to manipulate an Oriental martial arts device made from three lengths of wood connected by a short chain.

For their part, the surrounding army units kept up an almost relentless psychological pressure on the Indians. On one night, yellow tents smog low over the pines around the treatment centre while ground troops fired flares into the sky. The next day, the soldiers moved their line of force were several feet closer to the centre's residence, leaving Mohawk women to negotiate with them, order them to stop. "Shouldn't we women?" "We don't care who you are as who you represent, you're not taking us gun from us here." Screamed another: "You think the men are bad? The women are worse."

At the same time, the Warriors' morale rose with each report of a protest supporting them—particularly demonstrations launched by other Indian bands. After five electricity transmission towers fell near the Thames Chippewa reserve in Ontario, an senior Warrior predicted that, in the end, the natives' demand for sovereignty would prevail. Declared Robert Skutumpah: "They may have an interest, but we have them surrounded." □

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Canadian destroyer Terra Nova sailing to the Middle East: Iraqi insistence that they will not withdraw from Kuwait

WORLD

A UNITED STAND

Stand firm in protest and remain united
—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker

With that message, delivered at the close of testimony before a congressional committee last week, the politically astute Baker counseled the American public to prepare for a long standoff in the Persian Gulf. The following day, Baker flew to Saudi Arabia, where he added another vital element to his prescription for success: cash. In meetings with Saudi King Fahd and the emir of Kuwait, Sheik Jaber al-Sabah, Baker extracted promises that the oil-rich rulers would contribute billions of dollars towards the cost of the colossal U.S. military deployment. Then, at the weekend, it was President George Bush's turn. Meeting in Helsinki with his Soviet counterpart, Mikhail Gorbachev, he solidified the already strong Kremlin opposition to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's Iraq: a invasion of Kuwait. Clearly, the superpower's common front could provide

IN HELSINKI, BUSH AND GORBACHEV MEET TO DISCUSS THE DANGEROUS STALEMATE IN THE PERSIAN GULF

the best hope for resolving the Gulf crisis without either side resorting to war. After the hastily arranged summit, Bush placed to address the Senate and House of Representatives. Sen. J. Robert Dole, D-Kan., said in Washington's outpouring Brookings Institution: "There's more to this than just public relations." Referring to the possibil-

ity of a U.S.-Soviet regional security system taking shape in the Gulf, he added, "There's something in the works." Meanwhile, the Soviet side of the crisis grew. In Jordan, the government continued to struggle with the huge influx of Arab and Asian refugees from Iraq and Kuwait (page 34). International agencies staged what the Disaster Relief Organization officials said is the largest emergency operation since the Ethiopian famine of 1984: Western women and children caught up in the Gulf crisis were more fortunate: hundreds of them, including 140 Canadians, flew to safety (page 36). Still, an estimated 7,000 Westerners now remained in Iraq or Kuwait in actual or potential jeopardy under threat of long jail terms if they remained in hiding or tried to leave the country without permission.

Gorbachev strongly reiterated his previously expressed support for Washington's position at a meeting last Wednesday with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. The Soviet leader looked eager to be received. Aziz at the Kremlin. There, according to the official Soviet news agency Tass, Gorbachev denounced the immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the restoration of its legitimate government. Aziz acknowledged later that there were "considerable differences" between the Soviets and Iraqis, but he said that Iraq would not retreat, despite the condemnation by its western ally and principal arms supplier.

Immediately before meeting Aziz, Gorbachev talked to a group of visiting congressmen. He asserted that he would not allow the Gulf crisis to disrupt Soviet-U.S. disarmament agreements. At the same time, in Washington, Baker said a congressional committee, "The Soviet Union has proven a responsible partner, supporting new foundations for active superpower cooperation in resolving regional conflicts." No specific agreements were in the talks at the Bush-Gorbachev summit, held at the rescheduled presidential palace in Helsinki. A senior White House official described the session as an informal consultation. "It is Camp David," a reference to the relaxed talks that

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Gorbachev and Bush solidifying support

the two leaders had at the Maryland outdoor late June. But the official made it clear that the Americans were interested in increasing the "multilateralism" of the U.S.-led ground forces in Saudi Arabia "by adding representatives by one of the major powers"—meaning, of course, the Soviet Union.

Before flying off on his fast-track mission to Saudi Arabia, Baker met Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy, who was making his first official visit to Washington. After the meeting, Levy said that the U.S. administration had undertaken to supply Israel with advanced Patriot missiles, capable of shooting down Iraqi surface-to-air missile. But following a 15-minute meeting with Bush, Levy said that he was "impressed" that Washington will also begin Israel's \$5.2-billion military debt at, as the President agreed, a similar \$2.6-billion debt owed by Egypt. Egypt, which is one of three non-Gulf Arab

countries contributing troops to the U.S.-led multinational force in Saudi Arabia, has suffered economic hardships because of UN sanctions against Iraq. By supporting the United States, President Hafez al-Assad has angered Hama, who last week reported an earlier call for the Egyptian people to overthrow their president in a bloodless coup. Hama also claimed that Iraqi children were dying because of shortages of milk, food and medicine as a result of the UN-sanctioned blockade. In apparent response, neighboring Jordan indicated that it might be willing to send food and medicine to Baghdad, despite the hostile legacy of its eight-year war, which Iraq formally ended less than two weeks after its occupation of Kuwait. The daily *Tokyo Times*, which is close to Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, said that food and medicine were not included in the United Nations' resolutions and that "by choosing to help the Iraqi people, Iran will not be breaking any international law."

Chinese leaders also said that Beijing might send food and medicine to the beleaguered Iraqis. After a visit by Hussein's deputy prime minister, Taha Yassin Ramadan, a Chinese official pointed out that the transactions would clearly excluded food and medicine "in humanitarian circumstances." But Western diplomats in Baghdad said that such aid was not widely available and they claimed that there was no evidence yet of critical shortages of food or medicine.

Clearly, Hussein's reference to dying children was part of his increasingly public relations campaign. Hussein's information ministry director, Nay al-Hadi, unexpectedly offered Bush an interview on Iraqi TV. The White House immediately accepted, and spokesman Mark Penneman said that discussions were under way for Bush to videotape a message to the Iraqi people.

Meanwhile, Baker and the Saudi foreign minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, confirmed at a joint news conference that there could be no compromise with Iraq over its occupation of Kuwait. Baker added that the United States "does not and cannot make any assurances" to force an Iraqi withdrawal. He gave no details of the contributions promised by King Fahd towards the estimated \$6-billion cost this year alone of the U.S. military deployment. But with the crisis proving so costly, his visit with an estimated \$100 million a day in windfall of profits, the king could clearly afford to be generous. "The Americans will not be generous," pledged one Saudi official. But it remained to be seen whether either Bahrain, Pakistan, Syria and Iran would suffice to enter a confederation in the Gulf.

JOHN BERNARDI is with ALAMY MACKENZIE in Jamaica, PAUL KALLALA is in Miami, MARCI McDONALD is in Washington, WALLACE M. GRAY is in Mexico and LARA MARLOWE is in Riyadh.

World Notes

A HISTORIC HISTING

In the highest-level contact between the two nations since the peninsula was divided in 1945, the presidents of North and South met for a two-day visit Seoul to try to defuse tensions and foster eventual unification. South Korea's King Yoon-ho, who proposed that the nations restore shared beliefs, reunite families, reduce armed forces to equal levels and pursue economic co-operation. But his Communist counterpart, Kim Il-sung, said that ending "military and political confrontation" is the North's top priority.

SOUTH AFRICAN VIOLENCE

Black supporters of the predominantly white Inkatha Freedom Party killed 25 people in a raid on a migrant workers' hostel south of Johannesburg. Witnesses said that government soldiers also fired into a crowd of unarmed protesters, killing 11. Over the past month, nearly 600 people have died in township clashes between supporters of Inkatha and the rival African National Congress.

PALMER RESIGNS

Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer of New Zealand resigned rather than face a no-confidence vote among Labour members of Parliament. After succeeding David Lange, who resigned in August, 1989, he was replaced by Foreign Minister Michael Moore, 41, who will lead the Labour Party into a general election on Oct. 27. Labour trails the centre-right National Party by up to 35 per cent in polls.

A BELATED FUNERAL

In a ceremony attended by Cuban officials, foreign dignitaries and his widow, Hortensia Pino, former first husband Salvador Allende was reburied with honors in a family tomb in Santiago 17 years after his death. Allende, who died in a U.S.-supported right-wing attack that he was overthrown, had been president in power in 1970, had been banned in an unmarked grave in a return to democracy last March. Pinochet, resigned as president but remains army commander-in-chief.

HOPE FOR HOSTAGS

Seven Lebanese hostages that had three British hostages held in Lebanon could be released this month as a result of negotiations between the British and Iranian governments. The three captives remained are 35-year-old Angus Macdonald, 37-year-old John Macdonald, 38-year-old John Macdonald, 38, held since May, 1988.

Flight to freedom

Former hostages relate their experiences

It was after 3 a.m. last Friday at Toronto's Pearson International Airport, as a champagne cork popped amid cries of joy and emotional embraces. "Mummy, Mummy," yelled nine-year-old Aislinn Kulkarni, as she snuggled into her mother's arms. Steven Kulkarni, 38, of Mississauga, Ont., had just stepped off the Narisair jet, the one that carried 132 Canadians from Iraq and Kuwait. She hugged Aislinn and her elder son, Dean, 14, but their reunion was tinged with sadness. Kulkarni had gone to Kuwait to meet her husband, Gerald, 42, a senior engineer with the Kuwait Oil Co. Together, the couple, who are Israeli immigrants from India, had planned to return to Canada on Aug. 5. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, just three days before their scheduled departure, crushed those plans and tore the family apart. Although the Iraqis allowed Kulkarni to leave, they ordered her husband, and other engineers, to stay behind. "We thought, 'Our children are alone,'" said Kulkarni through her tears. "I left him there and I came home for our children."

Many of the women on Flight 938, the first major airlift of Canadians since thousands of Palestinians became trapped in Iraq and Kuwait, clearly shared Kulkarni's mixed feelings of joy and apprehension. While Iraq President Saddam Hussein permitted foreign women and children to leave Iraq and Kuwait, he detested most Western men as potential human shields to try to prevent a U.S.-led military attack. The 21 men who were able to get onto the Canadian-bound flight were natives of either the Middle East or Asia who held dual passports, who have landed immigrant status in Canada or who had applied for permanent residence. Their departure leaves less than 200 Canadians still trapped in Iraq and Kuwait. At the Toronto airport to greet the weary arrivals, the federal external relations minister, Margaret Laundy, said the government would do "all it can to ensure that all Canadians in Iraq and Kuwait can return home."

Passengers who disembarked in Toronto said that they were exhausted by their grueling 24, 26-hour flight to freedom. The excitement began early Thursday morning in Kuwait

City, where 125 people boarded a Canadian-chartered Iraqi Airways jet. They flew to Baghdad, where five more Canadians, 12 Americans and 10 Irish nationals boarded the plane for a flight to Ankara, Turkey. There, three Canadian-born children and their Lebanese mother disembarked. The remaining passengers transferred to the Narisair jet for the flight to London, where another 14 Canadians and 11 others left the plane. For the majority of those



Evelyn Stoyanoff (right) greets returning daughters' mixed feelings

who started their journey in Kuwait, it was a grueling 24-hour odyssey that finally ended under the intense glare of TV cameras at Pearson airport.

Although many expressed grime for the Canadian evacuation effort, some passengers complained that Ottawa has demanded that they reimburse the government for the cost of their airfare. And during the stopover in London, Raphael Gervil, minister-counselor for consular affairs at the Canadian High Commission, said that many of the women were upset because "they can't quite understand why some men were allowed to leave and some weren't."

One Canadian who had to leave her husband behind in Tishit Dugayn, 28, of Toronto, who has lived in Kuwait for the past year. Dugayn, who declined to answer her husband, citing fear

for his safety, said that the couple's experience in Kuwait City since the invasion had been "nerve-racking." For more than a month, they stayed indoors, listening to the sounds of gunfire between Iraqi troops and resistance groups. Kuwaiti friends, who could travel through the city with relative ease, brought Dugayn food. Said Dugayn: "It was like being in prison at your own home."

At the airport, a tearful reunion with family and friends greeted 14-year-old identical twin sisters Julia and Pansy Stoyanoff. Well-wishers opened a bottle of champagne and held up hand-painted signs welcoming the girls, who had been visiting their father for the summer in Kuwait. Said Pansy of the sisters' experience there since the invasion: "It was very interesting and boring and scary and everything." But the twins said that it was difficult to leave their father behind in Kuwait.

Even men who were able to take their entire families with them expressed concern for the future in Canada. Iraqi authorities allowed Zaki Haddad, a Canadian-based manager who has worked in Kuwait for eight years as a river mechanic, to leave, even though the Jordanian passport he showed them had expired in 1993. But Haddad, 45, said that he did not know how he would support his wife and his six children, aged 4 to 14, three of whom are Canadian citizens. "There is a start financial, from the beginning," he said. Meanwhile, Khawir Abdulrahman, a landed manager from Kuwait who arrived with his wife, Rana, and five-month-old daughter, Nadine, sat dejectedly in a lounge at the airport. Abdulrahman, who had been working as a stockbroker in Kuwait for the past few years, said that he had been planning to return with his family to Toronto in December. "I lost everything: our house, our cars, our money," he said. "We took our clothes, that's it." Still, Abdulrahman praised the Canadian officials in Kuwait who helped organize the evacuation. "Oh, God, they were really, really helpful," he said. "They just smiled in and we're here."

But Susan Hilborn, 36, of Ottawa, said that the joy of returning home was tempered with fear for the safety of her British husband, Stephen Kelly, in Kuwait. "When I left, he was fine," said a visibly shaken Hilborn after arriving in Toronto. "But tomorrow, who knows?" For the wives and children who left loved ones behind, that haunting question awaits for a troubled homecoming.

MART NEMETHY and ANDREW BELSKI
and ANDREW PAVLAPIS in London

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WORLD



Life is as men's lack makeshift shelters, open latrines and growing despair

JORDAN

'A ticking time bomb'

The refugees are trapped in squalid camps

On the pitiless tarmac road in the no-man's-land between Iraq and Jordan, an aircraft has disgorged its refugee human cargo. Men, women, sweat-soaked shirts, soiled saragams and bimbis. They scurry, grabbing their cloth-covered mattresses and eked-out bedding. In front of them, under the scorching midday sun, emergency camps of tents and makeshift shelters stretched into the dusty desert. The temporary home for tens of thousands of mostly Asian guest-workers fleeing Iraq and Kuwait during the current crisis in the Persian Gulf. Men squatted over open-air latrines whose stench of human waste was barely disguised by the spray of chemical disinfectant. Nearby, the rambling approach of a water truck marked a fight between cans waiting with 30-gallon cans for their first drink in three days, while aside the dark-green Red Crescent hospital tents, five doctors handed out anti-dehydration salts for chronic diarrhea and measured cupfuls of cough syrup. "It is an impossible situation," said one doctor, Khalid Abu-Haleem. "We don't have enough water or medical supplies. We don't know how to deal with this."

That sense of desperation infected Shula al-Nuri and its emergency camps like a deadly virus. More than 80,000 people were packed into the tent cities late last week, most of them citizens of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Thailand and other Asian countries. Unlike Western countries whose nationals have been trapped in the Gulf, Asian governments say that they cannot afford the transportation to fly their people home. As a result, the United Nations has begun a series of charter flights to repatriate the stranded Asians and has sent food and water to the camps, where thousands more refugees arrive daily. Said E. Said, director of the UN Relief and Works Agency: "It is a ticking time bomb."

Even as the Jordanian desert police tried to maintain order, occasionally resorting to the use of still leather bolts, the Jordanian government appeared to be overwhelmed. Faced with the loss of \$70 million in grants from the now-canceled Kuwait government and \$300 million in annual remittance payments from Jordanian Palestinians working in Kuwait, Jordan appealed for international assistance to cope with the human tide of refugees. Said Crown Prince Hussein: "This will surely be beyond the capacity of a small country like Jordan to handle."

Responding to a personal appeal by Queen Noor, King Hussein's American-born fourth wife, British millionaire Richard Branson jetted out to Amman aboard his Virgin Atlantic jetliner, which contained 40 tons of medicine, rice, flour and 27,000 blankets for the refugees. "We've brought an absolute pitance, a pittance," said the long-haired Branson, who made a what-

wed tour of two of the camps. "The only real way of dealing with the problem is a massive shift on the scale of the Berlin airlift at the end of the Second World War."

The situation was certainly grim. Makeshift shelters of untanned skins and plastic tarpaulins provided scant relief from temperatures that soared to 45° C during the day and chilled to 10° C at night. Piles of rotting mattresses, plastic water bottles and stacked canned-beef cans littered the desert as a reminder of the last meal that many of the refugees had been able to obtain. Sanitation problems threatened to spread a virulent epidemic of cholera or typhoid fever, and health officials at Shula al-Nuri reported two cases of cholera—and expensive antibiotics for scorpions and snake bites had run out. At the same time, violence erupted between rival groups fighting over such historically divisive issues as the disputed Karakoram region spanning the

India-Pakistan border. "People are passing their lives like animals," said Essamuddin Salim, a streetworker from Pakistan. "For the past six days, I haven't even washed out my mouth."

Outside the Indian community tent at Shula al-Nuri, a cardboard sign declared, "We hope today 20 hours will come"—hours that would take Indian refugees to planes bound for their native land. Nearby, a group of Indians scribbled home addresses on left-tipped pens in their hundreds of belongings strapped together with rope. "I lost everything," said Badraddin Khan, a businessman who had invested nearly \$11,000 in a Kuwaiti cosmetics firm, Iqbal Hassan, a sales manager wearing mismatched sandals, added: "It happened overnight. One day you were well-off, the next day you were poor." Remanded Narayan, a driver for a Kuwaiti sheik, had watched his entire life savings plunder the Royal Palace. "The military took watches, gold, money, whatever they could," he said. "They took electrical goods, even the cars."

Long lines of refugees, waiting for more than two hours for the daily ration of atta bread, one tomato, one triangle of processed cheese and a can of beef, waited their way far into the distance. They held towels and umbrellas over their heads as shrubs against the scorching sun. "We are always a lot—for the bathroom, for water, for food, to work," said Jomna Talang, 27, wearing a green sari. She said: "Taking along that she had supported seven family members back in the Philippines on her \$1,100-a-month salary as a nurse in Kuwait. Sayed Abdulla of Bangladesh and that an Iraqi soldier had forced his way into his modest Kuwaiti apartment and forced him to leave. "He pushed me aside and told me to go away." For the refugees in the squalid desert camps, going away was only the beginning of the nightmare.

REHATY WACKENHEIM at the Iraqi/Jordanian border

GORBACHEV'S LAST STAND

Over the years, the 12 million people of Moscow have discovered how to deal with most of communism's hardships. They have learned to wait patiently as train lines for hours, even if there is often nothing left to buy at the end of the day, or at the end of the line. But it was nearly always possible to get at least a loaf of bread—until last week when, despite a record Soviet wheat harvest, Moscow's bakeries and stores simply ran out. Fights broke out as desperate shoppers tried to get a share of the city's vanishing bread supplies. The shortage underscored dramatically a potentially explosive crisis the Soviet Union's economy under President Mikhail Gorbachev is disintegrating rapidly. This week, in an attempt to reverse his jingoistic economic reforms, Gorbachev plans to formally table a radical new market-based, 500-day economic plan in the Supreme Soviet. To win the support of his leading domestic political rival, Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic, he has abandoned a more cautious approach advocated by his prime minister, Vladimir Kryukov. Still, many of his other political rivals, including some who are disavowing a return to orthodox communism, predict that he will fail and that his regime will collapse as a result. Declared delegitimizing Moscow's economy, says Gorbachev. The economic reforms are part of the whole mess, the decapitation of our lives that has been going on for years.

With the economy in disarray after five years of half steps towards a market system, most Western experts say that Gorbachev has few choices except to adopt the strategy advocated by Yeltsin and his many radical advisers and introduce far more sweeping and risky reforms. Despite some economic liberalization under perestroika, Gorbachev's policies have failed to improve the living standards of the vast majority of Soviet citizens. With the

THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP MAKES A CRITICAL ATTEMPT TO MOVE TOWARDS A MARKET ECONOMY

breakdown and other signs of economic decay multiplying, Gorbachev and Yeltsin have both agreed to adopt a blueprint prepared by Stanislav Shatalin, an economist close to both leaders. Among other measures, it calls for state-aided privatization, an end to state control of prices and creation of a stock market. The bold new plan bears little resemblance to the two earlier cautious plans prepared by Yeltsin over the past year, and Shatalin and many other Soviet politicians are now calling for him to resign.

Clearly, Yeltsin's plan has failed. The Soviet gross national product fell one percent at the first half of the year, while the consumer inflation rate jumped above 50 per cent. Off-

icially, the Soviets are predicting that the economy will shrink this year for the first time since the 1930s, although Western experts say that the Soviet's painful economic shift began earlier than a year ago.

Last week's headlines in Moscow were the most embarrassing evidence to date of the decline, and a chilling reminder of past upheavals. In October, 1917, bread shortages in the imperial capital of Petrograd, now Leningrad, led to the Bolshevik Revolution. Party leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin went to power promising "bread, peace and land." According to Marshall Goldman, a professor of economics and associate director of Harvard University's Russian Research Center,

the parallels between the chaos of 1917 and Gorbachev's current crisis are far more than symbolic. Said Goldman: "When you come down to the fact that that's no bread, that's the body of holes. It's a terrible admission of incompetence."

Other signs of that incompetence are also growing. In Moscow, economists have been added to the list of such above-rational goods as sugar. And throughout the Soviet Union, in fact, both workers and businessmen are caught in the painful transition from a centrally directed



Moscow residents buying scarce bread: a terrible admission of incompetence.

system that is unable to deliver consumer goods to the massive process of a market economy. In the case of cigarettes, the city is allocating 15 packs per month for every resident, smokers and non-smokers alike. Most smokers are free to get them to doctors, trade them on the black market or turn them in for an extra 4½ lb. of sugar. As a result of the shortage, men and women all over Moscow now make up to smokers and ask them if they want to buy cigarettes at inflated prices.

Meanwhile, in Brent, a Yorkshire city near the Polish border, local consumers came close to rioting when they discovered that the rarely available sausage that was put on sale by the local trade organization had already sold out in stores. And even the strongest sectors of the economy are themselves contributing to the crisis. Officially, the Soviets blame the bread shortages on farmers, who they say are hoarding their record harvests until a market economy with higher prices is formed. Still, Western experts say that once the bumper grain crop will not alleviate the bread shortage (which agricultural analysts point out that 50 million tons, about one-fifth of the total harvest, will not or be wasted because of inadequate transportation and storage facilities).

Similar inefficiencies also riddle other economic sectors. Oil production, for one, has been unable to increase because of outdated equipment to take advantage of shortages—and high prices—listed by the Persian Gulf

crisis. The Soviets, by far the world's largest oil producers, are now pumping less than 12 million barrels a day, compared with the 12.4 million barrels a day achieved in 1987. Western analysts predict that, even if prices continue to soar, the Soviets will be forced to cut back even further. Moreover, last week union leaders representing 700,000 Siberian oil workers threatened a general strike if Gorbachev did not agree to protect them from general price increases and other hardships that they say have resulted from his economic reforms. Gorbachev's bold 500-day plan has four phases. In the first 100 days, he plans to slash his government's 165-billion ruble budget deficit, \$21 billion at official rates, by sharply cutting spending on the military, the KGB and foreign aid. As well, he plans to sell many state-owned apartment buildings and factories to private owners, and to ease restrictions on private farming.

Over the following 100 days, Gorbachev will try to eliminate most agricultural and industrial subsidies, which now cost the government about \$265 billion a year, to cut back and slash many government ministries and phase out most price controls. In the plan's next 100 days, in a clear attempt to attract new foreign investment, he will try to make the ruble more freely convertible and take steps to set up a Soviet stock market. Then, during the plan's final 100 days, Gorbachev plans to establish social safety nets to cushion the impact of his

Business Notes

JOBLESS JUMP

Canada's unemployment rate is 8.3 per cent, its highest level since it reached the same level in October, 1987. The jobless rate increased for the fifth month in a row in August, jumping half a percentage point from 7.9 per cent in July. Economists said that the unemployment numbers are far from reassuring that the country is on, or approaching, an economic recovery.

WHAT SALES HALTED

Canada's wheat is no longer for sale. The Canadian Wheat Board stopped international sales because prices have fallen below \$110 a ton—about \$25 less than the board pays Prairie farmers. A board spokesman blamed worldwide record wheat production, lack of orders from the world's two largest wheat purchasers—China and the Soviet Union—and a continuing rivalry war between the United States and the European Community for causing to drop prices to their lowest level since 1931.

CANADA WANTS IN

The federal cabinet has decided to ask for Canadian participation in the free trade talks between the United States and Mexico, scheduled to begin early next year. Both Prime Minister George Bush and Mexican leader Carlos Salinas de Gortari have said that they would welcome Canada at the table.

FORD IS TARGET ONE

The Canadian Auto Workers union announced that, Ontario, Ont. based Ford Motor Co. of Canada would be the union's target if contract negotiations fail to reach a settlement by Sept. 15. The target company generally provides the framework for contracts with other companies in the same industry.

A JAPANESE BUYER

The Sanyo Bank Ltd. of Osaka announced that its Canadian subsidiary, Sanyo Bank Canada, will pay about \$20 million for 75 per cent of Toronto-based McCarthy Securities Ltd. The deal makes Sanyo the first Japanese bank to move into the Canadian securities business by buying its own brokerage.

ONE MAKES FOUR

The cost of mailing a first-class letter will increase by four cents in January, to 43 cents, if Canada Post and the federal government have their way. Canada Post is asking Ottawa for a penny increase from the current 39-cent-a-letter rate, but the proposed raise plus one cent cut would add another three cents to the cost.

Gorbachev: a bold, 500-day plan to vitalize a dying Soviet economy.





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Oil plant in Sargat, Siberia. Another (below) "things will get worse."

reforms. Goldman and other Western experts predict that those who likely include price controls on some commodities, such as bread and meat, as well as other measures to limit exorbitant price increases.

Apart from Gorbachev and his closest advisers, however, virtually no foreign or Soviet experts, let alone ordinary Soviet citizens, know the plan any chance of success. Soviet economist Vladimir Popov, a researcher at Moscow's Institute of U.S.A. and Canada, predicts that industrial production could plummet by as much as 30 per cent in 1992, while the unemployment rate could jump from its current level of less than three per cent

to as high as 15 per cent. In Andrian's view, increased separatist pressures are one of the greatest dangers to Soviet economic stability. He added, "Everyone wants to go their own way. They want their own laws, their own currency, their own army, their own foreign trade. That is the apostrophe vision that could tear our country apart."

Already, eight of the 15 Soviet republics, including Yeltsin's Russian Republic, the country's largest in terms of population and industrial output, have declared control over their own natural resources. One major economic impact of these declarations has been to create

new bureaucratic hurdles for such Western oil companies as U.S.-based Teco Inc. and Chevron USA Inc., and the French firm South National Oil Agence. All three companies have begun negotiating joint-venture agreements with the Soviets this year to explore and develop remote oilfields.

Gorbachev seems prepared to let free markets develop and compete in the republics, with Moscow maintaining firm control over such areas as foreign policy and broad domestic and social issues. Western experts say that he had no choice but to compromise politically in order to proceed with real economic re-



forms. According to Kenneth McCarthy, director of research for Refinit Associates Inc., an influential New York City-based economic and social forecasting company, Gorbachev must eliminate Moscow's control of virtually all, not just some, prices and production targets in the Soviet Union. Said McCarthy, "They need it to provide incentives to make individuals be more productive and work harder."

And while Gorbachev's economic reforms to date have increased widespread publicity, McCarthy claims that "very little has actually been done." In practice, he said, Gorbachev's only meaningful changes are allowing factory managers greater freedom to trade among themselves, to permit a small amount of private farming and to legalize the privatization of small co-operative businesses such as restaurants and flower sellers. Andrian also says that, in the past two years, the output value of new private ventures has grown to \$40.7 billion from \$6.05 billion a year, and the number of people they employ has risen to 4.5 million from 70,000.

But co-operatives still account for only about five per cent of the Soviet Union's GNP, which Western economists say is less than half of that of the United States' \$5.5 trillion. As well, Goldman estimates that the value of all black-market transactions is only another 10 to 15 per cent of the GNP. As a result, the vast majority of Soviet citizens are still almost wholly dependent on the old, centrally planned economy.

Because of the huge problems that Gorbachev faced when he assumed power five years ago, McCarthy says that it is unfair to blame the Soviet president alone for the subsequent economic decline. Goldman, in contrast, claims that Gorbachev began with a program that was precisely the wrong policy for the time. He says that Gorbachev concentrated more economic power in Moscow and created new, very few expert committees. He also said that Gorbachev was wrong to order factories to produce more tools and heavy equipment, instead, Goldman said, they should have been increasing production of consumer goods. Said Goldman, "He took a bad situation and made it worse."

Now, Goldman says that the situation in the Soviet Union is so grave that Gorbachev could conceivably be forced from power within the next two years. And although McCarthy is more optimistic, he too says that "the whole thing is tumbling down" and that there could well be a second Russian Revolution within the next two decades. Indeed, at last week's Russian Republic Communist party congress, Moscow party chairman Yurii Prokofiev warned that the national leadership is losing control of the country, and that the Soviet Union is sliding towards totalitarianism or chaos. For Gorbachev, the next 500 days are absolutely critical. They will either produce a last-minute placid or shattering upheaval—and possibly his regime along with it.

JOHN GILLY with **MALCOLM GRAY** in Moscow and **WOLFGANG JENSEN** in Toronto



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Positioning Quebec as the new Switzerland

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Pierre Larvin, the Montreal head of Merrill Lynch Canada and one of the province's new folk hero-businessmen, is very precise about the future of his home province. "I'd like to see Quebec become a sort of North American Switzerland," he says. "Who put in smaller, it's easier to have success relatively to business. We could be more relaxed about universal banking, about the concentration of money, and we could regulate our own economy. English Canada is still afraid of the free market. We're not. We're more collectively oriented and have much more confidence in our private sector. That's why Switzerland would be such a good model."

Larvin, 51, is a pivotal figure in a post-Meuch Quebec: that has elevated businessmen to Napoleonic status. "There's no doubt," he said last recently, "that Quebecers have developed a certain suspicion towards the intellectuals who were formerly on the leading edge of rationalism in the province. They had different sets of values and were not seen as responsible people, you could really trust them. Businessmen have occupied this vacuum in terms of being sophisticated and having beliefs closer to those who treasure work and a system of authority."

Born in Chambray, Que., near Montreal, where his father was a small-time businessman with interests in a garage, bowling alley and bar, Larvin attended Montreal's École des Hautes Études Commerciales (the University of Montreal's Business School) and arrived at Harvard in 1965 on a scholarship without speaking English. Four years later he graduated with a doctorate in business administration and stayed on to co-author a business book on international trade. He returned to teach at École and spent seven years in the prestigious school's director general. After a four-year stint in VP, corporate planning and administration at Alcan-Aluminium Ltd. in Montreal, he joined Merrill Lynch. Although the New York City investment house has all but vanished from contention in Toronto, as Montreal arms under

According to Québec business leader Pierre Larvin, Toronto now is only part of a much larger economic playing field

Larvin has flourished by concentrating on servicing riches in the institutional market.

Larvin believes that the sea of change in domestic perceptions of business was triggered by the 1987-1988 free trade debate, because the ensuing agreement reduced the degree of Quebec's dependence on the rest of Canada, diluting Toronto's trusteeship as all levied economic decision-making. "The playing field is much larger now," he says, "and Toronto is no longer the centre of the action. This relatively new set of circumstances accounts for the increasing growth of Quebec enterprise beyond the Canadian sphere as we posit our entrance to the international scene. Free trade has given us not only access to the American market, but the certainty that our English-Canadian partners can't cut us off."

Still, Larvin believes that there might be a future in Ontario and Quebec joining with New England and New York state in some form of special economic arrangement, but he cautions elsewhere the rest of this country as not on an economic scale, wary of being isolated. He points out that Quebec's diverse talent beyond natural resources, particularly the evolution of powerful capital pools such as the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, which manages

personal funds, has had extremely favorable structural effects on the province's economic prospects, because it allows the private sector to mobilize itself for specific, perhaps a real-estate holding, purposes.

At the same time, he acknowledges that despite the weight of costly social programs flowing out of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, Quebec—unlike Ontario—has balanced its current spending budgets, with deficits financing only capital expenses. "The old myth that French-speaking people are never helped in financial matters is being seriously questioned," he asserts.

When Larvin talks about Meuch Lake, it's as if the province's rejection caused him physical pain. "It was the ultimate rejection, so now our people is taking over," he says. "We don't feel it was just Meuch Lake and Newfoundland that rejected us, but that they were expressing a feeling which was much more widespread—even if we did appreciate the support of people like David Peterson, Don Gertz and Joe Ghis. Quebec now benefits from a surprising convergence of factors which offer the luxury of being well positioned to make a choice—the means to decide our future. After the defeat on the Plains of Abraham, each of our history was spent regaining our rights. Our leaders were politicians, and the great influence of the Church and the military made the attainment of goals. Most external things were left to the English, thus accentuating the creation of the unpredictable 'Old Boys network.' Now, for the first time, Quebecers are making their own choices, and the great influence of military, billions of dollars. For the very first time since the Conquest, we no longer see ourselves as a minority but as a majority in a better-defined house of our own."

Although he sounds as if he were advocating separatism, Larvin remains optimistic that less divergent options might be left possible. "Our first choice," says he, "would be a new arrangement with the rest of Canada, but not a break-up. I personally find the sovereignty-association idea a bit strange. It's like getting a divorce and telling your spouse, 'After we're divorced, I will become your state.' It's prior to see if we can fix those links between us that are not working. It's either that or outright independence. Certainly, Confederation as we know it, that's a page that has been turned."

Although he talks and presumably thinks in highly principled terms, Larvin has a little doubt that in the crunch, most Quebec businessmen will come down as favor of a decentralized option—not because they support the status quo, but because their pragmatism will triumph over their nationalism. Any extended constitutional crisis would endanger the predictable climate in which business thrives. There is also the delicate point of the cost of borrowing. International investors bristly at such a claim, proclaiming that they don't care who governs what, that they can handle revolutions, quiet and otherwise.

The dream of Quebec becoming the Switzerland of the New World may sound fanciful, but so did Old Montreal becoming our West

FILMS

Smothering love

A tale from family hell prickles with wit

When Hollywood turns the camera on itself, the melodrama can be overwhelming—especially when it focuses on a dissembling mother and an insecure daughter. As Francis Farmer, an actress connected to us by her mother, on screen (1982), Jessica Lange was so convincing that her performance was painful to watch. In *Melrose Place* (1988), Faye Dunaway's evocative rendering of Joan Crawford's cruelty was undeniable. Perhaps from the stage, based on actress Gertrude Frober's adaptation of her own novel, presents another mother-daughter duo from Hollywood. But this one can. And although Frober—daughter of actress Debbie Reynolds and singer Eddie Fisher—dissects the movie as a cynical with a trained eye, she is smart enough to avoid literalism. She is also lucky enough to have Mary Streep and Shirley MacLaine performing her script in a Hollywood heaven ruled by veteran director Mike Nichols.

As in his best comedies—which range from *The Graduate* (1967) to *Working Girl* (1984)—Nichols makes his actors and actresses look like they are in a comedy. It is



Streep, MacLaine: glorious comedy

sublime entertainment. Frober's script prickles with wit and intelligence, its subject—the Hollywood melodrama concerning from children. Photographs are remarkably free of sentimental sentiment or wistful hysteria.

Shirley MacLaine is an actress whose career

is threatened by drug abuse. After a near-fatal overdose, she emerges from a rehabilitation clinic only to learn that no producer will hire her unless she agrees to live under close supervision during filming. Reluctantly, because movies in which her overbearing, alcoholic mother, a failed actress comedy star (Lange) (Doris MacLaine) Suzanne gets a starring role as a policeman in a B-movie, but her self-esteem quickly crumbles in the script. Her mother's grip about her acting. Meanwhile, she falls into the clutches of a sexual predator (Dennis Quaid) who preys on her vulnerability.

There is a touching lack of plot in *Postcards*. Instead, the movie offers a portrait of a woman's life. (Just as gratification takes too long) and still the performance even in minor roles. Rob Reiner delivers a performance as a producer who asks Suzanne for a write sample. And Gene Hackman, playing a paternalistic director, frames the comedy with scenes of standing drama.

Meanwhile, the two main stars appear to be enjoying themselves immensely. Melodrama and comedy. Streep delivers brilliant comic timing. And instead of adapting to a second, the movie has her take in a single—straight with the Toronto-based band Rodan. For her part, MacLaine provides herself as a morally proper, with high but refuse to quit and a last that looks strikingly old when she's without wig and makeup. Together, they have turned the stuff of melodrama into glorious comedy.

BRAD D. JOHNSON

Maclean's

BEST-SHIRT LIST

ACTION

- 1 Spy School, Daphne (1)
- 2 The Bad News of Tom, Tom (2)
- 3 Four Feet Under, King (3)
- 4 Memories of Midnight, Glendon (3)
- 5 Sound of My Voice, Weiss (3)
- 6 The Women in His Life, Streep (3)
- 7 Hometown, Funder (3)
- 8 Standstill, Funder (3)
- 9 Message from Narn, Steh (3)
- 10 An Innocent Woman, Dwyer (13)

NONACTION

- 1 Gently As A Lamb, Gently (1)
- 2 The Great Depression, Jordan (2)
- 3 Detective, Vialle, Joyce (2)
- 4 Counting Down, Sander (2)
- 5 The Believer, Weiss, Glendon (3)
- 6 The Sea and Our China, Gorman (3)
- 7 Destroying the Peace, Hunt (3)
- 8 The Trouble with Canada, Gorman (3)
- 9 Father, Son & Co., Nelson (3)
- 10 Streets of Montreal, Sander (3)

11 Fictional book review

Compiled by Steve Belliveau

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THE ENVIRONMENT/SPECIAL REPORT

THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS



THE EVOLVING IMAGE OF NATURE

Ecological problems are a **frightening** consequence of the innate belief in mankind's dominion over nature

And God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the Earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the Earth.'

— Genesis 1:26

The ancient scribes, nature existed so that humans could exploit it. That sense of man as master of the Earth has survived more or less unchallenged into the modern era; it pervades current thinking not so far from long ago. But over the millennia, technological advances have greatly increased the scale—and, inevitably, the destructiveness—of man's assaults upon nature. It took many centuries for the canoes of Phoenicia, Persia and Macedonia to cut down the vast cedar forests that once dominated the landscape of Lebanon. Now, armed with chain saws and bulldozers, loggers and ranchers destroy between 50 and 100 acres of tropical rain forest every minute—only a small fraction of which is ever replanted. Each year, global deforestation—often through spec-

ulative fires—lays waste to an area almost as large as New Scotia and New Brunswick combined, driving countless plant and animal species towards extinction. And that's just one of the ways in which humans are altering the environment. Toxic waste, acid rain, ozone depletion, the threat of global warming—such is a frightening consequence of the innate belief in man's dominion over nature, a willingness to enslave the environment in the name of human progress.

In conquering the wilderness, man has opened up places of stunning beauty. But that has placed at risk the very conditions that enabled human civilization to expand and prosper. In the past few decades, a recognition of the danger by scientists and environmentalists has produced a shift in public consciousness, a belief that man is part of the Earth rather than its master. In the process, man's image of nature has also evolved. Earlier generations saw Mother Nature as unpredictable and often hostile, a force to be kept at bay. To environmentalists, however, nature is a fragile web of chemical and biological processes, which together compose the ecosystem. The American ecologist R. L. McKibben wrote in *The End of Nature* last year that by altering the

composition of the atmosphere—which causes changes in the world's climate—man has infused "nature" and replaced it with something square and artificial.

McKibben's idea of nature may strike some readers as romantic and overly sentimental. But nowhere on Earth—not even in the most remote reaches of the fjords of Pangnirtung in the Northwest Territories—is there a place that has not to some degree felt the impact of human civilization. The air, water and soil have each been irreversibly altered by human behavior. For a long time, the environment absorbed the punishment, scarcely showing any effort. But over the course of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century, the human race has radically stepped up its incursions against nature, consuming fossil fuels and dumping toxic byproducts into rivers, the oceans and the atmosphere in ever-increasing amounts. Only now that man's existence on the planet is beginning to be threatened is he starting to take seriously the need to reverse the damage.

As an ideology, environmentalism is still in its infancy, and it remains to be seen if humans are truly capable of retooling their natural appetite for growth at all costs. But around the world, there is evidence of a gradual revolution in public attitudes and behavior. Beginning in the late 1960s, Canada began to rank environmental degradation as one of the most important issues facing



Nature is a fragile web of chemical and biological processes, which together comprise the ecosystem

the country. Recycling, once practised only by a committed handful of eco-loops, is now standard procedure in small and large communities across the country. Growing numbers of citizens are taking matters into their own hands, taking legal action against companies and municipalities that threaten their surroundings. Many are switching to especially grown fruits and vegetables, and demanding products that do the least damage to the environment and do not clutter landfill sites with unnecessary and wasteful packaging. Increasingly, companies and politicians who fail to make the green transition are in danger of losing out. There has also been an explosive growth in the number of environmental consultants and lawyers who specialise in pollution-related cases—and widening fronts of prosecution in courtrooms across the nation.

For the most part, however, the volume of environmental rhetoric still far exceeds the amount of action. And two of the gravest challenges to the present way of life have yet to be dealt with effectively. The first, climate change, can be addressed only by radically reducing dependence on oil, coal and natural gas, carbon-based fuels that pollute the atmosphere. The second is worldwide population growth, which threatens to



Pacific Rim National Park (previous page) and Montreal dump (above): environmentalism is still in its infancy

increase the amount of damage that humans do to the environment, thereby undoing many or all of the gains achieved by altering personal behavior. Currently, many of the world's environmental disasters can be traced to overconsumption by the billion or so people who live in industrialized countries. But poverty in the developing world intensifies the competition for scarce resources, driving people to cut down forests and sacrifice the quality of clean rivers simply to stay alive.

Compared with the magnitude of these and other environmental problems, the current interest in recycling pop cans and using string shopping bags sometimes seems faint and insignificant. In fact, some radical environmentalists—supporters of a U.S. movement known as Deep Ecology—advise each individual acts because they claim that they remove a sense of personal guilt without solving the underlying causes of environmental degradation. A more charitable view is that, after centuries of needless waste and destruction, the inhabitants of the global village are finally taking the first, tentative steps towards restoring the delicate balance between man and nature. But the struggle has just begun. The future of life on Earth depends on victory.

ROSS LIDER



Burning forest in the Philippines; air pollution over Montreal; flood at Panglossburg, N.W.T.; recycling is now standard procedure in communities across the country; and growing numbers of citizens are taking matters into their own hands in the courts and boardrooms

SOLUTIONS AT HOME

Cleaning up the environment means altering a way of life

The easiest, and least effective, way to deal with most environmental abuses is to blame them on someone else: the owners of a nearby supermarket, a factory across town, a logging company in the remote rain forests of Brazil. In reality, however, many of the ecological problems facing Canadians are the inevitable by-products of modern industrial civilization and consumer demand. The experts say that one of the best places to begin cleaning up the environment is at home. A close-up of some top domestic issues:

GARBAGE

Canadians are among the most wasteful people on earth, according to Environment Canada, throwing away an average nearly four pounds of household garbage per person a day, or about three-quarters of a ton each year. And as much as 50 per cent of all trash is packaging, much of it unnecessary, according to critics. Most of it is recycled, but much is simply dumped into landfill sites or burned, which may release toxic materials such as dioxins into the environment (page 85)

HOUSEHOLD TOXICS

The term "hazardous wastes" conjures up alarming images of toxic-waste industries needlessly polluting the air, water and soil with toxic chemicals, needlessly threatened by accounts from Eastern Europe (page 83). But according to the environment organization Pollution Probe, household are also major generators of hazardous waste—disposing of an average of 774 pounds of toxic material a year. Many of these hazardous chemicals are stored under the kitchen sink or in the basement, including household cleaners, disinfectants, drain openers, paints and polishes. Often, they end up in landfill sites, where they may leach into groundwater. Or they are simply flushed down the drain, contaminating the sewage system and polluting lakes and rivers. To reduce the problem, many communities offer pickup services for toxic substances and special waste-recycling depots.

FOOD

To satisfy consumer demand for inexpensive food and unadorned fruits and vegetables, many farmers use herbicides and pesticides that increase crop yields but harm the soil. Runoffs from these chemicals endanger wildlife and can leach into lakes, rivers and underground streams, contaminating sources of drinking water. In cities, the problem is compounded by the use of chemical fertilizers and insecticides on lawns, gardens and green spaces. Meanwhile, the demands of intensive agriculture have led to an increasing

reliance on hybrid seed varieties bred for maximum output. In the process, environmentalists say, other plant varieties may disappear, making crops more susceptible to infestation and disease. But there are signs that public education in modern farming techniques is working. According to Canadian Organic Growers, an independent Ottawa-based organization, there are now about 600 certified organic farmers across the country—twice as many as there were three years ago (page 87).

OZONE DEPLETION

The cooling coils of most air conditioners and refrigerators are filled with chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), a class of synthetic chemicals that absorb heat. Released into the air through leaks in the appliances or when people throw out units and destroy them, CFCs gradually drift upwards to the atmosphere, between 30 and 25 miles above the Earth's surface. There, they break down and release chlorine, which eats away the thin layer of ozone that protects the Earth from the harmful ultraviolet rays of the sun. In the long run, scientists say that ozone depletion can lead to higher rates of skin cancer, increased incidence of eye cataracts, lower crop yields and reduced fish catches. Although the global market for CFCs is worth \$2 billion, more than 50 countries so far have signed an international agreement to phase them out by the year 2000, and scientists have developed alternatives (page 70).

GLOBAL WARMING

The average North American car pumps about two tons of carbon—an amount equal to or greater than the vehicle's own weight—into the atmosphere every year. The less often with the automobile is one reason why Canadians are among the world's greatest per capita consumers of fossil fuels. On average, they are responsible for about 4.2 tons of carbon emissions per person per year, compared with 3.7 tons per person in Britain and 0.8 tons per person in China. When released into the atmosphere, carbon dioxide and other pollutants help to trap the sun's heat. That, in turn, may lead to changes in climate and global warming. Scientists disagree about the long-term impact of the greenhouse effect, but at least some experts say that it is probable that there may be more severe droughts in Southern Canada, increased flooding in the North and global food shortages in the middle of the next century. To cope with the problem, the United Nations has called for an international treaty on climate change and several jurisdictions are considering legislation on new taxes on oil and coal, on use of oil, natural gas and rock (page 64).

WANISHING FORESTS

The demand for beef in many industrialized countries causes farmers in tropical countries to clear vast tracts of rain forest in order to graze cattle. As trees are cut down and burned, they release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, contributing to the greenhouse effect. And as cattle digest, they belch large volumes of methane, a greenhouse gas that traps at least 20 times more heat than carbon dioxide. In some Third World countries, cow-catchers are trying to save tropical forests by encouraging exports of renewable forest products such as cane and bamboo. In Canada, which exports virtually no Third World beef, the use of such hardwoods as teak, mahogany and ebony in furniture has encouraged harvesting of rare stands of tropical trees in rain forests (page 78). As well, the demand for newspapers, magazines and household paper has produced major confrontations between ecologists and loggers over the fate of Canada's old-growth forests (page 52).

ILLUSTRATION BY GUY LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN

CITIZEN CRUSADERS

How five Canadians are working to protect their turf



Kostuch with Gismo on the Clearwater River. "Everyone wants to get involved!"

Taking Ottawa to court

MARTHA KOSTUCH, 41, VETERINARIAN
As vice-president of Friends of the Oldman River, she helped mount a court challenge that changed the impact of federal policies.

Martha Kostuch's tale as an environmental crusader began after she and her husband emigrated from Minnesota to Alberta in 1975. Kostuch and then after the couple opened a veterinary clinic at Rocky Mountain House, 360 km southwest of Edmonton, she noticed that cows in the region often displayed sickness symptoms. "There were animals that could not stand, and a lot of fertility and reproductive problems," she recalled. Eventually, a graduate of the University of Minnesota's veterinary college, and that she thought two natural-gas processing plants in the area might be affecting the animals' health. After she mounted a campaign on the issue, the gas-plant operators installed new equipment and, she says, reduced sulphur dioxide emissions by

38.5 tons a day. More recently, the energetic 45-year-old has become a prominent figure in the campaign to halt work on a dam on Alberta's Oldman River, which led to a staying judicial order of Ottawa's environmental policies in March.

Kostuch honed her skills as an environmental organizer a decade ago when a group of Edmonton businessmen, including former Alberta premier Ernest Manning, proposed a \$40-million resort and convention center that would have been located in the Kootenay Plains area—a rare ecological zone featuring timber pine and Douglas fir trees—136 km west of Rocky Mountain House. Kostuch and others mounted opposition to the project. In 1984, they launched a legal challenge of the group's development permit—and won. Finally, with public pressure against the project mounting, the developers scrapped their proposal in 1985. Said Kostuch: "It was the first time the courts were used successfully as an environmental issue in Alberta."

Legal action subsequently became a standard procedure for Kostuch in fighting environmental battles. Since 1987, as vice-president of the Friends of the Oldman River, she has campaigned to block construction of the partly completed, \$460-million dam that would flood 6,000 acres and wipe out three rivers in southern Alberta. Opponents of the dam also testified, while environmental studies were carried out, so overall assessment was made of the effect that the dam would have on the ecology of the region. In its ruling on an action brought by the Friends of the Oldman River, the Federal Court of Appeal (October 1990) ruled that Ottawa had been negligent in approving the project, and it ordered a full environmental impact assessment. Meanwhile, work on the dam, which is now entering completion, continued.

Through the window of her family's living quarters above the veterinary clinic, Kostuch can look out over a forest that stretches to the surrounding Rocky Mountains. "I came here for the mountains," she says. "And I am fighting to protect all that I came here for." In fact, her concerns go far beyond regional issues. "There is no limit to what people can do. They can begin today by changing the impact they personally have on the environment. They can consume less. And they can participate in public hearings on environmental issues."

As a veteran of the environmental battlefield, Kostuch acts as an adviser on environmental issues to many smaller Alberta communities and groups. There have been personal ups and downs. Earlier this year, her 19-year marriage to Thomas Kostuch broke up, partly, she says, because of her absorption in environmental issues. She now lives with her two sons, Edward, 16, and Mark, 14. For Kostuch, a lone deer hunter and cartoonist, his involvement around the environment. "People with environmental problems come to see me," she says. "For so many years, we were just a handful who cared. Now, we can't keep up with the requests. Everyone wants to get involved in saving the environment." For Kostuch, that is both a victory and a reward.

JOHN BOWSE in Calgary



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Alcan is a Canadian aluminum company. And we share the growing concerns of all Canadians with our environment. Thus we became a member of the important Blue Box neighbourhood recycling program now operating in Ontario and other

parts of Canada.

The eyes of the world are on this project, a unique collaboration of soft drink companies, packaging suppliers and government dealing with a variety of solid wastes. Already we have seen a remarkable return

rate on aluminum cans in Blue Box neighbourhoods. And that's our goal for all of Canada.

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ALCAN IS ALUMINUM

THE URBAN FOREST

Recycling: an environmental idea that makes good business sense

It is not only with vegetable fibres that Canada's papermakers do their work. More than 40 of Canada's 165 pulp, paper, and paper board mills recycle waste paper as for all or part of their raw material needs. Some have been doing so for more than 50 years.

The pulp and paper industry supplies additional supplies of high-quality waste paper to meet its fibre needs. In fact, the quantity of recyclable paper has been increasing steadily. In 1982, 1,300,000 tonnes of waste paper were used; in 1990, that figure will exceed 1.9 million tonnes.

Growth of waste recovery

Nearly 25 percent of the paper and paperboard used in Canada is collected for recycling. Recovering paper from a variety of sources, from the province of small entrepreneurs, community groups, and service clubs, has also become the domain of businesses of significant size.

Market forces and environmental



considerations will continue to shape the recycling business. For one thing, people are asking for recycled content in the products they buy. For another, landfill sites are becoming more difficult to find. Recycling enables the industry to respond to the recycling ethic and to ease the environmental burden created by increasing municipal solid waste.

Industry research

As research solves the technological problems that today constrain barriers, as supplies of recyclable papers become reliable, and as new markets open for recycled papers, Canadian mills will use greater quantities of waste paper.

In keeping with the spirit of its Environmental Statement, the pulp and paper industry is resolved to strike a balance between its business opportunities and its responsibilities to the environment.

Recycling is an expression of that resolve.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
Public Information Officer
Canadian Pulp and Paper Association
Sun Life Building, 19th Floor
355 Avenue des
Métiers, Québec H3B 1T5

Fields of a dream

ELMER LAIRD, 66, FARMER

Long before it became fashionable—in fact, despite government policy—his organic farming methods set the pace.

When visitors arrive at Elmer Laird's 844-acre farm near Gervais, Sask., 120 km north of Saskatoon, they casually find down-home western hospitality with a modern twist.

Laird traces his organic interest in organic farming to a time in 1919 when he helped as uncle and a cousin spray pesticides on a farm near Davidson, Sask. Laird recalls that, after a long day of spraying, he became "sick as a dog." Still, when he finally decided in 1969 to stop using chemicals on his farm, it was an economic decision. Laird wanted to save on the cost of herbicides to help make ends meet during a period of low grain prices. Laird, a native of Wyndach, Wis., soon became a convert to organic farming. Supporters of organic

The network reflects the deterioration that Laird, 66, has brought to organic farming for 23 years. Long before it became a fashionable cause, Laird was a staunch defender of the environment and a lively voice preaching the merits of chemical-free farming. Although the trend is growing, organic farming still has relatively few Canadian practitioners. Indeed, probably fewer than one per cent of Canada's 292,000 farmers use organic methods.

Laird traces his organic interest in organic farming to a time in 1919 when he helped as uncle and a cousin spray pesticides on a farm near Davidson, Sask. Laird recalls that, after a long day of spraying, he became "sick as a dog." Still, when he finally decided in 1969 to stop using chemicals on his farm, it was an economic decision. Laird wanted to save on the cost of herbicides to help make ends meet during a period of low grain prices. Laird, a native of Wyndach, Wis., soon became a convert to organic farming. Supporters of organic

farming contend that aggressive farming erodes soil, leaving heavy reliance on chemical fertilizers and pesticides and leads to soil degradation—the destruction of living organisms such as fungi, bacteria and other microorganisms that thrive in healthy soil and make it suitable for growing crops. As the soil loses its ability to support life, it becomes loose and dry—and susceptible to erosion by water or wind. Indeed, a 1986 report by the Science Council of Canada estimated that farmers lose \$1.3 billion annually due to topsoil degradation.

As an alternative to chemicals, organic farmers like Laird use crop rotation and combinations of crops. Laird grows wheat, rye, oats, peas and clover to control weeds and insects and provide nutrients for the soil by natural means. Although he had not used chemicals on his farm for nine years, Laird began to attract widespread attention only in 1978, when he became embroiled in a battle with the officials who operate Saskatchewan's provincial crop insurance program. In that year, the insurance officials decided that they would only insure Laird's crop for a projected yield of six bushels an acre, rather than the 16 bushels an acre he said he planned to grow. Provincial officials claimed that Laird's refusal to spray would lead to an abundance of weeds and less grain.

Laird's Saskatchewan officials asked him to design a new crop insurance plan.

The on-air battle that ensued between Laird and provincial bureaucrats was resolved in 1984, when Gerald Main-land, Saskatchewan's minister in charge of crop insurance, gave in to the farmer's protest. Later, Laird chalked up an even more significant victory when provincial officials utilized his help in designing a crop insurance system under which farmers who use organic methods are insured on almost exactly the same terms as conventional farmers.

The growing demand among consumers for food and other luxury products made from organically grown ingredients means that organic farmers in Canada now earn about \$2.10 a bushel more for their wheat than conventional farmers earn. It is a sweet vindication for Laird's belief that chemical-free soil can be richly productive. "You can't have maximum nutrition in the grain unless you have maximum nutrition in the soil," says Laird as he peeks poking at an ear of wheat that is in the dark soil of his hand. "And if you don't take care of the land, it won't take care of you."



DALE KISLER in Regina



Howe: It began with a company's plan to pump chemical waste into the river

An ambitious goal

MARGARETH HOWE, 68, HOSTLER

By mobilizing citizens, her experience prompted four governments to sign a cleanup agreement for the Niagara River

I was a moment's soliloquy to come again, and Margaret to Howe said it was, what-
ever, a Prime Minister from the White House
office was on the line, asking for
Marion's column and author Peter C. Brown,
one of her guests that White House bed-
and-breakfast in Niagara-on-the-Lake, the
charming tourist town where the mighty Niagara
enters Lake Ontario. "You're active in the
campaign to clean up the Niagara River," called
Newman to the phone and gave him a pointed
message for the Prime Minister. "When you're
talking to Binns, tell him the advice from the
White House is to get rid of [the Environment
Ministry] Suzanne Blais-Gervais."

Melrose, devoted Binns-Gervais to a less
important portfolio only weeks later. Howe
claims no responsibility for that decision. But
efforts credit the outsidings Howe for spear-
heading a citizens' battle against pollution of
the Niagara River that led in 1987 to a crucial
cleanup agreement among Canada, the United

States and the governments of Ontario and
New York state.

Howe's crusade began when she learned
that the owners of a chemical-waste storage
facility across the river at Youngstown, N.Y.,
intended to pipe some of the substances into
the river for disposal. Prompted by concern
that the release would contaminate Niagara-
on-the-Lake's water supply—which is drawn
from the river—Howe organized a group of
bellow residents on both sides of the border to
challenge the proposal. Calling itself Operation
Clean, the group operated without an office or
aid. "We used our homes, we used our own
telephones," Howe recalls. "In order to public-
ize her cause, she adds, "I phoned everyone but
God." A young American law graduate
volunteered her time and of charge. In the end,
despite those efforts, the waste pipeline was
built, although with modifications intended to
reduce its impact. "They have operated judi-
ciously," Howe says. Meanwhile, Operation
Clean had taken up a second fight, this time
against plans to restore—rather than rene-
w—wastes leaking from a second dump
farther up the Niagara River. "We lost again,"
says Howe.

Still, the cases drew the
attention of legislators in
both countries to the river's
pollution state. And in Feb-
ruary, 1987, representatives
of the two governments
signed the Niagara River
Toxic Management Plan.
Observed Doug Draper, a
retiree environmental report-
er for The Standard in near-
by St. Catharines, Ont., who
covered the event: "None of
us would have been standing
there watching these two
guys signing that agreement
if it had not been for Marg-
erith." As a result of the pact,
some towns that pour into the
river from more than 200
chemical dumps and dozens
of industries along its banks
are to be reduced by half by
1995.

If that ambitious goal is
achieved, the Niagara River
will cease to be among the
most bighted upon one of
North America's most impor-
tant—and most threat-
ened—natural resources: the Great
Lakes. The five lakes—Super-
ior, Michigan, Huron, Erie
and Ontario—contain ac-
cording to the U.S. Environ-
ment Protection Agency, 95 per
cent of the fresh water in North America. One
Canadian in three lives around the lakes, which
provide water for a total of 127 million North
Americans. That water, however, has become
decreasingly tainted. In addition to industrial
wastes, runoff from farmland and municipal
sewage contribute to the 1,000 different chemi-
cals that scientists have identified in the lakes.

Although researchers say that it is too early
to tell whether lighter controls resulted in the
state of the 1987 plan have reduced the
amount of toxins in the Niagara River, there
are positive signs. By mid-1988, the flow of
toxic chemicals from known sources along the
Niagara River's 19-km stretch had been re-
duced by 86 per cent compared with 1982. But
Canada and the United States have set no
timetable for achieving the goal of the 1978
Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, which
sought the "virtual elimination" of toxic sub-
stances from the Great Lakes. Indeed, despite
the fact that a 1987 assessment identified 40
"areas of concern" on the lakes for priority
attention, cleanup activity has begun at only
one Canadian hot spot: Hamilton's severely
polluted harbor.

Howe acknowledges that governments have
swayed to the threat of pollution. But she
also expresses her frustration that govern-
ments are unprepared to accept the changes in life-
style that may also be necessary to protect the
environment. "If they fail to do so, she adds, "I
am terribly pessimistic."

CHRIS WOOD in Niagara-on-the-Lake

Romancing the whales

PIERRE BELAND, 42, MARINE BIOLOGIST

His cause is the beluga and he fights
for it as the co-founder of a unique
St. Lawrence River institute

Pierre Beland's romance began, like
many, on a beach. The creature that
stirred his affection, however, was
rather typical: a car in a state normally
calculated to inspire a loving love affair. It was
13 feet long and weighed down to a ton. It also
was dead, says Beland, estimated to be the
carcass of the fully grown beluga whale on the
south shore of the St. Lawrence River; his
findings set in motion a chain of events that
eventually led him to the position he now
occupies as a leading authority on the grayish-
milk-white giants that inhabit the waters in
and around the mouth of the mighty river.
"The fascination started on that beach," the
42-year-old marine biologist recalled. "And it
was not long before I fell in love with these
wonderful animals."

The incident occurred in 1982, when Beland
was working as a research scientist for the
federal department of fisheries and oceans at
the University of Quebec in Rimouski. On
learning that a dead beluga had washed ashore
nearby, he and another federal official—veteri-
narian Daniel Martneau—went right. An in-
spection on the beach revealed that the animal
was the victim of an unexpected form of kidney
disease. On the spot, they decided to do some-
thing about it.

Both men quit their jobs and started the St.
Lawrence National Institute of Oceanography.
Beland's branch is a privately funded, non-
profit marine research establishment loosely
attached to the University of Quebec in Rimouski.



Beland with whale skull: unexpected disease

also. Since opening three years ago, the institute
has blossomed. Funding this year is about
\$400,000.

The driving force behind the effort was a rare,
uncommon bilgeal bacterium with a map of
murky gray had and a penchant for jeans and
work shirts. A strain of Quebec City, Beland
carried a doctorate in zoology in 1974 at Dal-
housie University in Nova Scotia. Later, he

lived in New Caledonia and Australia, where
for 18 months he studied the ecotopes of
various species of South Pacific birds. He re-
turned to Canada in 1977 to take a job with the
National Museum of Natural Sciences in Ottawa.
There, he joined the department of fisheries.

In 1981, he took up research in
relating marine ecotopes to the
St. Lawrence.

Beland's experience as a con-
servant was not happy. He said
that his six years at the Fisheries
department convinced him that
governments today are simply not
equipped to deal with any number
of pressing modern issues—espe-
cially the environment. "The sit-
uation is not geared to making
any sense out of the world," he
said. "I was paid \$50,000 a year, basically in
order to free senior civil servants
from ever having to be bothered
reading the reports I researched
and wrote. It did not take me very
long to realize that anything I ever
wanted to accomplish could be
done better—and cheaper—outside
of government."

It is this philosophy that under-
lies the work at the St. Lawrence
Institute. An expert source of
information for the press is an en-
vironmental activist, Adrienne Beland, campaign-
ing with corporations and other
groups pay \$5,000 each to adopt
and name an individual beluga. The
fish have made it possible to be
seen, tracked, the behavior of which was
friendly environments, as well as to start identify-
ing the toxic chemicals and wastes in their
path. The effort, in the end, may well prove to
be hopeless. But, for Pierre Beland, it is certainly
worth trying. It is, after all, engaging in
a labor of love.

BARRY CAME in Montreal

A NEW WAY TO TREAT WASTE

ROBERT C. LANDINE, 55, ENGINEER

The Saskatchewan scheme helped design a
successful wastewater-treatment
system for Production's A&P Ltd.

In 1987, the Ontario government told Geo-
col, a 132-year-old cork-rolling plant in
Georgetown, Ont., 70 km southeast of Ottawa,
that the liquid effluent from the production
of cork-based products that it was putting
into the St. Lawrence River did not meet
prevailing standards. The factory had been
treating the waste by seepage, a process in
which bacteria and oxygen interact to break
down organic wastes. To meet the prescrib-
ed standards, the company decided that

aerobic treatment—a process in which bacteria are
used in an oxygen-rich environment—might
provide a solution. Geocol turned to a New
Brunswick firm called A&P Ltd.

Food-processing firms, brewers and other
producers of organic waste around the world
are increasingly making the same decision.
During the past decade, Production's A&P
talked with an engineering firm led by Saskatch-
ewan-born Robert Landine, who has reported more
than 30 waste-treatment systems, costing over
\$30 million, to firms in Canada, the United
States, England, France and India. Landine,
manager of the firm's environmental engineering
division, is a graduate of the University of
Saskatchewan's school of engineering, who
joined A&P during the early 1970s. Although his
team did not invent aerobic waste treatment,
it developed a highly efficient system that
removes 90 per cent of organic waste and
waste water from industrial effluent.

According to Landine, A&P—greatly
aided by its clients, it does not get
financial information—was it was, at the
most successful firms in its field in North
America. For his part, Landine does not
consider himself to be an activist environmen-
talist. Still, he expresses the belief that
ecological health is good for business. "There are
more threats to our environment than
people, placing more demands on the
earth's environment," said Landine. And he
added that, because of international com-
petitive pressures and other factors, "there
will never be any discharge left offload."
From a lot of industries, he is a graduate, it
is likely that for the foreseeable future, Land-
ine and A&P will have a valuable role to play
in maintaining damage to the global
environment.

GLYN ALLEN in Providence



HOPES AND FEARS

People are prepared to change

It is an attempt to find out how Canadians feel about the state of the environment—and what they are prepared to do to improve it—Maclean's commissioned a poll by Decima Research Ltd. of Toronto. The recent results, reproduced in their entirety below, are both encouraging and contradictory. Seven out of 10 respondents concurred that emissions of carbon dioxide are accelerating global warming and may lead to disaster, almost as many said that they would be willing to cut the amount of driving they do in half in order to reduce the risk of global warming. But fewer people were willing to reach 1990 their own products to improve the environment. Slightly less than half of those surveyed said that they would be willing to pay a \$1 fee for each bag of garbage they throw out, and only 39 per cent said that they would pay higher taxes in order to help Third World countries deal with their own ecological problems. Said Decima chairman Allan Greig: "People are prepared to change their behavior voluntarily,

but the moment you take away their discretion, resistance goes up."

In cross-tabulations of the results, interesting differences surfaced among regions and age groups. On several issues, British Columbia tended to be the greatest proponent; its respondents expressed the highest level of concern about global warming (74 per cent) and were most willing to drive less (68 per cent), to pay more to protect the Earth's ozone layer (76 per cent) and to accept less recycling (78 per cent). But British Columbia respondents were among the least likely to want to halt logging of mature forests (60 per cent) or to pay more tax to help Third World countries deal with environmental problems (37 per cent). Atlantic respondents were most in favour of taxes to help poor countries (46 per cent). Ontario respondents were most likely to support building nuclear plants to cut down on global warming (62 per cent). Prairie respondents were the least willing to have laws requiring recycling (58 per cent), but among

the most willing to pay more for appliances that do not damage the ozone layer (75 per cent).

Quebecers were more likely than other Canadians to favor a ban on logging in mature forests (89 per cent), but less inclined to support the construction of more nuclear plants (45 per cent) and less willing to pay higher taxes to help poor countries (35 per cent). In addition, 29 per cent of Quebecers described their drinking water as "not very safe" or "not safe at all." That compared with 15 per cent of respondents in Ontario, 10 per cent of those in Atlantic Canada or the Prairies, and only seven per cent in British Columbia.

Age also had a bearing on responses. Twenty-four per cent of respondents aged 18 to 24 said that people should be batted water from companies that purify it themselves—compared with only one per cent of people 65 and over. Meanwhile, university graduates were more inclined to agree that global warming could have disastrous consequences, and were more willing to pay higher taxes in order to help the Third World, than were respondents who did not have a high-school diploma.

The survey was conducted by telephone among a national sample of 1,200 people, 18 years or older, from Aug. 3 to Aug. 8. Results are presented in rounded percentages, and are considered statistically accurate for the population as a whole within a range of 2.5 percentage points, above or below the figure cited, 19 times out of 20. Percentages may add to 100 after rounding or when don't-know replies or non-responses are eliminated. □

GLOBAL WARMING

Some people say that worldwide emissions of carbon dioxide are causing global warming and that eventually the world will be drought, coastal flooding and other disasters. Others say that the risk of global warming has been greatly exaggerated and does not pose a serious threat in the future of the planet. Which of these two views is closer to your own?

Global warming may cause disaster: 71%
Global warming not a serious threat: 29%

To reduce the risk of global warming, would you be willing to drive your car 50 per cent less than you do now?

Yes: 62%
No: 34%
Do not drive: 4%

To reduce the risk of global warming, would you support the construction of more nuclear generating stations to replace older power plants that have fossil fuels?

Yes: 54%
No: 42%



FORESTS

Should logging of mature forests be halted, even if it meant fewer jobs in the forestry industry and higher prices for wood and paper products?

Yes: 56%
No: 37%

DRINKING WATER

Would you describe the quality of drinking water in your area as:

Absolutely safe: 25%
Pretty safe: 58%
Not very safe: 12%
Not safe at all: 5%

Different people have different views on what should be done about drinking water. Which one of these views best represents your own?

Everything is fine, and we should just continue as we are now: 34%
Governments should make a major effort to improve water quality, even if it means increasing taxes: 50%

People should buy bottled water from private companies that purify water themselves: 17%



RECYCLING

To reduce waste, some cities are considering charging homeowners a fixed amount for each bag of garbage they throw out. Would you be willing to pay \$2 for each bag of garbage you put out?

Yes: 48%
No: 50%

Should homeowners be required by law to recycle such items as newspapers, magazines, metal glass and plastic containers, or should recycling continue to be voluntary?

Required by law: 56%
Voluntary: 32%

RATING INDUSTRIES ON PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT*

INDUSTRY	VERY GOOD/GOOD	VERY POOR/POOR	DEPENDING ON OPINION
Auto	44	34	12
Green Products	55	30	17
Paper	49	38	13
Manufacturing	41	42	17
Mining	36	48	16
Oil & Gas	34	42	24
Transporting Hazardous Waste	33	54	13
Plastics	32	43	25
Chemical	30	48	22
Pesticides	19	49	32

*Source: Quarterly Review, CIBC
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THIRD WORLD

Would you be willing to pay higher taxes if the money was used to help poor and developing countries cope with environmental problems, or do you think poor and developing countries should be left to look after their own problems?

Pay higher taxes: 39%
Let developing countries deal with problems: 56%



OZONE LAYER

Scientists say that the chemical currently used in refrigerators and air conditioning is destroying the ozone layer, which shields us from the sun's harmful rays. New coolants are available but cost more. To preserve the ozone layer, would you be willing to pay 50 per cent more for a new refrigerator or air conditioner that did not use this chemical?

Yes: 72%
No: 24%



THE ENVIRONMENT

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

It is a case of ecology against economy, town against town

From her small floating house off the west coast of Vancouver Island, Valerie Langer can watch wolves, deer, bear, salmon, seals. Others leave their droppings on her cedar deck. Bald eagles soar sensationally overhead. This snug abode is the sweetest treat that Langer and other environmentalists in the town of Tofino have made themselves to savor. Last year she spent eight days in a maximum-security prison for blocking construction of a logging road. Now 27, she thrives though a new forest near her home, surrounding all the tall cedars and spruce in the muddy north. "What we're up to here," says Langer, "is that, as humanity we can live in our environment without mucking it. That's our challenge."

But back to all his diningroom table in the Vancouver Island town of Ucluelet. His hands are speckled white from pouring window frames, fixing up his house for sale—the real estate company's sign is already on the lawn. His wife, Norma, is in the kitchen preparing bottles for their baby daughter. "It's not just the two of us anymore," says Book, a 33-year-old logger. "If I don't get out from under the sawlog, I'd be able to pick up and go if I have to." Book's fear is that, as response to the logging of environmentalists, the B.C. government will at last move forest fire permits—and those loggers out of work. "They're crippling our economy," he says of the environmentalists. His own risk, he pounds the table. "If I had one of those, I think I'd probably kick his head in a few times."

Tofino on Clayoquot Sound: a reputation as the 'green' capital of the coast

Meanwhile, for the major forestry firms operating in the area—Vancouver-based MacMillan Bloedel Ltd and Fletcher Challenge Canada Ltd—millions of dollars could be at stake. And for the B.C. government, 50 per cent of whose \$66-billion CDF comes directly from forestry, the Clayoquot battle could prove a blemish for other land-use disputes. "This is going to be the hottest spot for some time," says Vicky Hubbard, conservation chairman of the Sierra Club of Western Canada. "It's going to be an accessible test case."

The government's enabling mechanism is named the Clayoquot Sound Sustainable Development Task Force. It was created in August, 1989 after Premier William Vander Zalm visited a local logging site near what he called the Black Hills—a site so inhospitable that some tour buses travelling the Pacific Rim Highway stop to let passengers gaze at it. B.C. Forest Products cleared the entire hillside in 1988—a technique that leaves no trees at all—then burned the remains, creating a charred, infernally smoky sight right by the roadside. When Vander Zalm viewed it, he asked, "How could this happen?" and set up the task force. Its 21 members, representing Tofino, Ucluelet, the provincial government, the companies, native groups and the International Woodworkers of America, are due to make their recommendations to the B.C. government at the end of the year. "It's gut-wrenching stuff," says Richard Daler, deputy minister of the environment and a member of the task force. "It's also economically important."

The debate over old-growth forests is hardly confined to British Columbia. In July, an international confederal environmental group reported that "national old-growth forests worldwide are disappearing at accelerated rates." Beyond their surprising bene-

fit, say environmentalists, such forests are vital ecosystems. The big trees store moisture that contributes to rainfall. They help prevent soil erosion and are home to thousands of species of plants and animals—an concept called biodiversity, or biological diversity—some of them rare. In June, the U.S. interior department formally listed the northern spotted owl as a threatened species, and officials estimate that protecting its ancient habitat in nearby old-growth forests and Washington coastal rainforests would require logging 20,000 acres. Only about 10 per cent of U.S. old-growth forests remain; the number is 40 per cent in Canada—and shrinking.

About four kilometers past the Black Hills, the Pacific Rim Highway divides Tofino to the right, Ucluelet to the left. For the two towns, this paved path of geography is, in its way, as crucial as any mountain or forest. As recently as 1981, says a study for the Tofino-Lang Beach Chamber of Commerce, tourists turned right and left at about equal numbers. But by 1988, the study says, about 70 per cent of visitors were choosing Tofino, and it speculates that "the fact that Ucluelet's newspaper has been intensively logged and Tofino's has not is a key factor."

Ucluelet officials dispute the numbers and the conclusion, but there is no question that Tofino residents have struggled mightily to save trees from the chainsaw. Beginning in November, 1984, they stepped into the water of 1985, people gathered by the boardwalk to prevent MacMillan Bloedel loggers from landing on Meares Island, where two heavily forested mountains provide Tofino with its perfect-perfect backdrop. Led by the Friends of Clayoquot Sound, which was founded in 1979 and now claims 600 members, the environmentalists allied themselves with the Clayoquot and Ahousat native tribes, who have lived in the area for centuries and had proclaimed Meares a tribal park. In March, 1988, a provincial Court of Appeals barred any logging there until the aboriginal rights issue is settled—it is still pending before the B.C. Supreme Court.

In June, 1988, Tofino residents blocked would-be road builders at Sulphur Passage, 27 km north of town. Langer, who had suggested to Tofino that water after dropping out of the University of Toronto, twice spent several days in makeshift tent houses at logging camps, climbing ropes tying her foot and water. Over the next three months, authorities arrested 26 people for obstructing a B.C. Supreme Court court injunction against the protest, and Langer and 19 others spent three days in 45 days in prison. "We all decided that extradition won't work," she says defiantly, "and we're willing to stay in again."

Such well-publicized episodes have given Tofino its image as the "green" capital of the Canadian coast. It is certainly a colorful place. On a summer day, the long-beaked crows chewing brown mussels and mussel spine oles on the porch of the Greenhouse Lodge Hotel. Ship could well have time-travelled from Vancouver's Gastown to its loggia heyday. But when the loggia is

MACLEAN'S DECIMA POLL	
Percentage favoring a halt of logging	
Howse	55
Man	54
British Columbia	48
Protest	59
Ontario	59
Quebec	65
Atlantic	45



PAPER TIGERS

The average Canadian uses 425 lb of paper each year. U.S. takes 19 times to make 2,000 lb of paper and 50 cubic feet of trees of 11



BEACH BALM

Showering pulp and paper with chlorine can cause fish to absorb toxic dioxin. According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, there is "no cause for alarm" that traces of dioxin have been found in paper products, including coffee filters, milk cartons and disposable diapers. Chlorine-free paper products are available in Canada.



Finer at her shop saving trees from the chainsaw

The province that calls itself 'Super Natural' is drawing scrutiny for the way it is levelling its old rain forests

search of salmon, while various shops for native art, rent laptops or board whale-watching boats spurring "Save the rain forest" stickers. But the green image does not always hold. Tofino has no waste-treatment system and dumps its sewage directly into the ocean.

In any case, the Tofino chamber of commerce has called for a moratorium on old-growth cutting in some parts of Clayoquot Sound until residents arrive at a plan for sustainable development. MacMillan Bloedel officials say that, at current cutting rates, it will take about 50 years to harvest the remaining allotment of old-growth trees; environmentalists put the number at about 30 years, but say that the difference is beside the point. The old forests will still be gone, they argue, and the second growth—either replanted or growing back naturally—will not contain the same biodiversity or even sustain the forestry industry at its present levels of employment. "We're basically like a Third World country," says Dorothy Beest, an environmentalist who runs a Tofino eco-tourism business. "We're simply being ripped off our resources."

Michael MacIn, a fisherman who is a veteran of the Meeus fight and one of Tofino's representatives at the provincial task force, says that there is no understating people's passions—in staffing a fringe minority who advocate leaving upland trees to ward off loggers. "At assemblies, some people think I'm a radical," he says. "Well, for radicalism's sake those being overhauled. There are people willing to spike trees and blow up equipment—the emotion is enormous." Naureen Pinner, owner of the Chawesee Lodge (Bake Shop and a Tofino alumnus, says that the coast guard the town's central message across to Uchiellet a Mayer Larson. "It's his community that's going to benefit from changing practices in the logging industry," says the 41-year-old Pinner, driving to Uchiellet to buy jeans for her shop. "His response to 'Are you guys ever going to be satisfied and just leave well enough alone?' I just can't get through to him."

Larson recalls his conversations with Pinner thus: "I say to her, 'You're trying to save it. We don't need saving.' " Sitting behind the desk at his waterfront diesel-engine company, the 49-year-old Larson, wearing jeans and a tank top, points out the second-story window at the massive arrow Uchiellet built, most of it logged bald with some sections growing back. "I've sat here and watched this for 20 years," he says. "I don't need to be convinced that the trees grow. They grow like crazy around here." He concludes that Uchiellet people do not have time to fight their Tofino opponents. "We're regular Joe's who go to work every day," he says, "and we're not going to spend a lot of time defending ourselves. And certain people in Tofino seem to have nothing but time. I'm not sure what those people do."

Uchiellet, stretching along Peninsula Road, which parallels the shore is hardly a one-industry town—its livelihood is also in fishing, government services and tourism. About 300 residents work in forestry, and officials say that, if the environmentalists have their way, the town will be devastated. Actually, most residents insist on calling their Tofino adventures "preservationists"—implying that they want to just save the old forests for parks. And they raise the most of Tofino's tourist image: graffiti at the Pacific Rim station, recently erased by the highway department, said "welcome home" with an arrow pointing towards Tofino, and "workers" pointing towards Uchiellet. Some Uchiellet residents also deny the involvement of such outside groups as the Sierra Club and the Vancouver-based Western Canada Wilderness Committee—Vancouver, they say with irony, is the logging clean-cut in British Columbia.

The case of Uchiellet's propping movement is the 800-member Share the Clayoquot. Founded in November, 1994, it is a mix of seven Share groups that have sprung up around the province in the past three years. Michael Morton, 49-year-old chairman of the local Share group, says that Share is determined to give rural resource-community activists "a fair say in the ongoing land-use dispute." Still, Morton, who is also a supervisor at MacMillan Bloedel, acknowledges that the company is among the contributors to Share the Clayoquot. And Morton's has learned that the provincewide Share groups are formulating a request for federal industry funding in the \$1-million range, a figure that Morton also does not dispute.

The Share message is spelled out in a poster showing a hearty group of loggers posing around a table, with the message: "Do not let your love of wilderness blind you to the needs of your fellow man." William Sutherland is one such man. "You think you've got the world locked," says Sutherland, a 38-year-old logger and Share member with a wife and two young children. "And then all of a sudden, this comes up." Sutherland has put his Uchiellet house and now track up for sale, fearing the worst from government officials. "What are you going to do if they decide 'OK, give it to the preservationists, the hell with the loggers?' What do I do?"

Another Uchiellet logger, 33-year-old David Edwards, insists that his fears are not of economic distress but of having to confront environmental protesters. "If you want to call me a reformer, OK," he says, "but I can get pretty upset about people standing in my way of making a living, especially if they don't know the facts. That's my fear—of having somebody, just getting mad." Edwards, 30-year-old Canadian, shares that concern. "David's friends are all loggers," he says, "and they're really scared for their jobs, and they talk silly sentences—it just scares me. Violence is not going to solve anything."

The MacMillan Bloedel helicopter lifts off from Tofino and clatters over Clayoquot Sound. The sky is a rich blue, the water below smooth and shiny, and the energy mentions still show patches of snow in summer. They also show bald spots, like human heads shaved for



Edwards and family: 'really scared for their jobs'



THIS IS A JUICE BOX.

So are some park benches we could show you. And road pylons. Pallets. Tree planters. And a whole lot of other useful items, now made mostly from wood.

The fact is, juice boxes can now be recycled.

Through a proven new technical process, sponsored in part by Tetra Pak—the leading manufacturer of juice boxes in Canada—empty juice boxes, along with their straws and wrap can now be combined with waste plastics and turned into a sturdy new

material called Superwood™ lumber. And Superwood lumber can be used to make anything from picnic tables to kitchen fixtures.

The Town of Markham, Ontario has already taken the initiative, by adding juice boxes and old plastics to their Blue Box collection program. And Tetra Pak is working to get similar programs adopted in other municipalities right across Canada.

We all have to do our part to improve the environment. It's a commitment

we at Tetra Pak have made to ourselves and to Canada.

Juice boxes—because they use so little raw materials to begin with—have always produced less waste than other forms of packaging. Now that they can be recycled they will produce even less waste. And help conserve our forest resources at the same time.

That means that juice boxes now make even better sense for your family and for your children. And for your children's children, too.





reached operations. One of the most glaring is at Cypress, where logging roads and clear-cutting on an unstable mountainside caused severe erosion two years ago. "That's not something we're proud of," Don Dowling, a MacMillan Bloedel divisional manager, says over the head-phones. "That's not something we think should happen again."

The January firm loan over the Clayoquot Sound disaster is surely as the helicopter—and they have a serious image problem. Tolko's executive team control that the companies have tried to get the loggers themselves against environmentalists—in part to obscure the fact that mechanization, not land preservation, is largely responsible for a 12-per-cent decline in B.C. logging jobs over the past decade. Industry officials deny that accusation. But as Frank Luzzo, a vice-president of Fletcher Challenge, says bluntly, "Our industry basically has no credibility whatsoever." That, he adds, is a result of industry mistakes and all the environmentalists' skill in making their case. Sierra Club literature warns that clear-cutting destroys not only the forest but "our options for the future," while the Western Canada Wilderness Committee is publishing a lavishly photographed book on Clayoquot Sound next month. Says Luzzo: "The growth, renewal, the beauty of nature, they're very emotional things. In some cases, you're almost talking about a religion."

Industry officials are preaching their own gospel: MacMillan Bloedel alone is spending \$1 million this year on TV advertising, a spokesman boasts, a telephone hotline and Internet access. In Tolko, a MacMillan Bloedel "forestry center" features films, video games and an electronic true-or-false test that states, "Pernitas in

Disables if environmentalists have their way, residents say, the town will be devastated

British Columbia are managed according to ecological principles." Answer: "True."

The company is also trying to show a willingness to change. The MacMillan Bloedel helicopter landings down at Tolko's Creek, part of the 1,800-square-mile area known as Tree Farm Licence 44. The B.C. forestry ministry has given the firm a 25-year lease to log and manage the tree farm, which includes Clayoquot. And Dowling and two engineers explain that, as part of their arrangement with the provincial task force, they have agreed to experiment with the techniques of the so-called New Forestry at Tolko's Creek.

Those techniques, current among some U.S. and Canadian scientists in the West, are based on studies of how forests regenerate after such natural calamities as fires. They reject complete clear-cutting and call for some trees and plants to be left behind to help the forest recover. Some of the Tolko's Creek area has already been clear-cut—a massive scene of destruction littered with stumps and rocks—and the company's literature is adamant in its defense of the technique. But in some parts of the forest, well as coarse, woody debris to improve biodiversity. It is also leaving larger strips of trees along the creek so as not to disrupt the salmon.

Dowling concedes that the experiment is limited and that the firm would not even be trying it without pressure from Tolko's environmentalists. But he finds a certain irony in the situation. Pointing towards Virgin Falls, a narrow cascade tumbling from the mountainside, Dowling says: "If there were 16 people in a year who came here before, it'd be very nar-



Larger in her flowing blouse: "We all decided that intervention won't work."

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Electronics for the New Age

posed. Now, we build a logging road here, we've preserved a precious spot by the falls, and people in Tolmie are saying, 'Gee, protect this whole area. It's a wonderful recreation area. Well.

For the moderate forces in Tolmie and Uclulet, the search is for that elusive middle ground. One Pemberton says he knows where it is: in better, more responsible forestry. Pemberton, 35, an unlikely-looking logger with an easygoing and long hair falling down his back, is an engineering crewman for MacMillan Bloedel. Although neither Dowling nor the self-named engineers insist that he alone directed the helicopter tour, Pemberton is the one most responsible for engineering the New Forestry techniques at Tolmie Creek. He is also a senior architect and a staunch critic of the company, which he says "wouldn't mind contracting because the short-term profit would go up, and that's where their major concern lies."

In a sense, Pemberton straddles the Tolmie and Uclulet camps. Sitting in his orderly home in Uclulet, he explains that he was an early contributor to the Friends of Clayoquot Sound but became disillusioned. "They've broken away from wanting good logging practice and don't want to say no to old-growth logging at all. And I can't go along with that because I consider the need for paper and wood products. If we stop logging here, then we're not going to log somewhere else on the list of the north." Pemberton is now one of the directors of Shave the Clayoquot but says he is "unwillingly" with that group as well. "They're too big-brother," he says. "They're better to let it be than to do it. They're not to say yes to any job less than all. And I find them to be fairly right-wing politically—just these attitudes towards environmentalists."

Now, if it is in the provincial task force to suggest a solution to the controversy in B.C. cabinet, Tolmie Mayor Penny Day, who sits on the task force and says that she is always looking for the "middle of the road,"



The Black Blot is a site on old-growth forest that some tour buses stop there.

adds that a complete ban on old-growth logging is just not realistic. In April, the province settled a similar dispute over the Island's Carmanah Valley by setting aside just over half of the 27-square-mile area in public land while allowing MacMillan Bloedel to log the rest. But a similar compromise seems unlikely to satisfy staunch advocates in Tolmie or Uclulet.

In his land-company office, Uclulet's Mayor Larch, who emigrated from Denmark at the age of 14, points up at a framed black-and-white photograph showing his family in the old country—a family of pros-looking blacksmiths. Larch, 60, says, "an every bit as good" "No one's going to come along and say, 'Now you're good, we think you'd make a good worker.'"

Larch says, "These are hard-working people, and you don't just tell them what they're doing is wrong. Because it's not wrong—no one on God's green earth is going to tell me that it's wrong." But Tolmie alderman Pinner, standing atop Rader Hill, a former Second World War installation outside town, draws a different conclusion as he scans the stunning 380-degree sweep of surrounding countryside. "I can't imagine that what's there"—she points to a heavily forested area—"is going to look like that"—she indicates a clear-cut section. "But here we're going to stop at beyond me." For residents of Tolmie and Uclulet, at the end of an otherwise genteel summer, the air war warnings are already in effect.

BOB LEVIN on Vancouver Island

A DECLINE OF MIGRANT BIRDS

Many North American ornithologists are worried about some of the birds they refer to as neotropical migrants—approximately 250 species that breed in Canada and the United States, but spend the winter south of the Tropic of Cancer. Some, like the Kirtland's warbler, are on Canada's endangered list; others, including the scarlet tanager and the rose-breasted grosbeak, are familiar summer residents as much of North America, but spend the winter south of the Tropic of Cancer. Some, like the Kirtland's warbler, are on Canada's endangered list; others, including the scarlet tanager and the rose-breasted grosbeak, are familiar summer residents as much of North America, but spend the winter south of the Tropic of Cancer. Some, like the Kirtland's warbler, are on Canada's endangered list; others, including the scarlet tanager and the rose-breasted grosbeak, are familiar summer residents as much of North America, but spend the winter south of the Tropic of Cancer.

ately, concluded that of the rapid loss of the tropical forest habitats, "we have had a dramatic upsurge in the loss of many birds that we have had in the past."

Loss of wintering grounds is only one of several problems that these birds face. During migration seasons, many die in storms. Perch swarming them in their northward breeding grounds during periods, when weather and habitat destruction during migration seasons, many die in storms. Perch swarming them in their northward breeding grounds during periods, when weather and habitat destruction during migration seasons, many die in storms.

Scientists say that declining numbers among neotropical migrants is a complex and, at this point, little-understood phenomenon. But sci-



Scarlet tanager perils

ence studies have indicated that there is genetic erosion for some. One case in point is a colony conducted at the Long Point Bird Observatory on Lake Erie in Port Rowan, Ont., between 1961 and 1985. Using the same methods, scientists discovered that one out of 33 neotropical migrant species native to the area had suffered a "serious" decline during the period of study. They included the rose-breasted grosbeak, the prothonotary warbler, and the wood thrush. Bird watchers may be increasing in number—but the same cannot be said of some of their quarry.

PAMELA YOUNG

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MacMillan Bloedel Ltd.

Head office: Vancouver
Main products: Lumber, pulp, paper, newsprint, composite containers, plywood and fiber board
Number of employees: In Canada, 12,055 (and 2,940 U.S. employees)
Number of plants in Canada: 31

Profit, 1993: \$249.7 million (down 25 per cent from 1992)

The issues, efforts, including expected consequences, from pulp mills:



Chris Loucas: confronting trouble



MacMillan Bloedel mill on Vancouver Island: an attempt to delay the target date

AN UNEASY ERA

THE CASE AGAINST: As British Columbia's largest forest-products company—with tree-harvesting rights in an area twice the size of Prince Edward Island—MacMillan Bloedel comes under frequent attack by environmentalists. During the past four years, protesters blocked plans by the firm to harvest centuries-old timber on Mearns Island, off the west coast of Vancouver Island, 300 km northwest of Victoria, and in the Comasah Valley on Vancouver Island. As well, environmentalists say that the air emissions bearing down—a known toxin—from MacMillan Bloedel's mills are polluting the province's air. Indeed, a provincial report issued in July cited air emissions by the firm's Powell River mill as being in "significant noncompliance" with permitted levels and further cited effluent discharges from the Port Alberni and Bannock mills as being of "pollution concern."

Chief among the concerns of environmentalists is a group of chemicals called organochlorines, which occur in the effluent from pulp mills using chlorine to bleach wood pulp. The organochlorines include dioxins and furans,

pressure for a further reduction to less than 374 kg. per ton by the end of 1994. And MacMillan Bloedel officials say that they may partially shut down the Port Alberni mill, which employs 270 people, in 1995 because of the combination of economic conditions and the estimated \$30 million that pollution-control measures would cost.

THE CASE FOR: Company officials point to the nearly \$350 million the firm has spent to reduce pollution in the past 30 years—\$160 million in the past three years. Since last fall, new precipitator stacks, which trap the solid matter contained in air emissions, have been installed at a cost of \$50 million to reduce air pollution at the Port Alberni and Bannock plants. As well, company officials contend that, by meeting the government's 1992 standards for organochlorines, they will have removed any health risk posed by the chemicals. Says Alan Chelmsworth, MacMillan Bloedel's director of environmental control: "We don't think there is a scientific basis for continuing on to reduce the organochlorines further."

As well, company officials argue that, with the forest industry facing an uncertain future, environmental demands could undermine the firm's profitability. With both prices and demand for its products slumping, the company's 1990 first-half earnings fell by \$82.9 million to \$58.6 million. Now, MacMillan Bloedel and other firms are trying to persuade the B.C. government to extend the 1994 target date for a further reduction of organochlorines.

CONCLUSIONS: Some environmentalists acknowledge that MacMillan Bloedel is making progress in pollution abatement, and they give the firm credit for spending \$5.5 million annually to manage their forest holdings and to plant up to one million seedlings annually. But, says William Andrews, executive director of the Vancouver-based West Coast Environmental Law Association, "Comparing them with other companies, they are not the worst, and they are not the best. But being the biggest, it really bothers them to be on the list." Meanwhile, some B.C. environmentalists want the province to set up strict emissions of organochlorines—a step that would require the end of chlorine bleaching in the pulp and paper industry. Industry spokesmen, for their part, say that such a requirement would devastate the pulp industry, which cannot find a market for unbleached products.

RAL QUINN is in Vancouver

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THINKING BEYOND TODAY

Inco Ltd.

Head office: Toronto
 Main products: Nickel, copper and gold
 Number of employees: 28,000 (11,000 in Canada)

Main operations in Canada: 3

Profit: \$667.250 million (up 2.4 per cent over 1984)

The issue: Cleaning up the largest single source of sulphur dioxide pollution in the country



Ashton: 'mad' at the accusation



Inco stacks at Sudbury: launching a \$494-million abatement program

AN ACID TEST

THE CASE AGAINST: In the early 1900s, nickel producers working near Sudbury, Ont., used a refining process in which they heated nickel ore on long beds of timber, known as "open-roast yards." That primitive technique, along with charring of local timber and the emissions produced by more sophisticated methods in subsequent years, left large expanses of the rolling landscape of the Sudbury region blackened and bereft of vegetation. Since 1983, Inco's Sudbury smelting operations have belched clouds of sulphur dioxide (SO₂) gas and made it the largest single-point contributor in North America to acid rain.

As recently as 1980, then-Inco chairman Edwin Carter claimed that his firm could not be "damned for acid rain," although Inco was then emitting about 3,000 tons a day of SO₂ into the atmosphere. At other times, Inco's managers often resisted pressures from the Ontario government to curb SO₂ emissions by arguing that the required controls would cost too much. Critics of Inco say that the company delayed taking action until it was forced to by the Ontario government. In 1985, Ontario stopped

The Inco was subsequently detected by an off-duty Inco employee. Last summer, Inco was fined \$80,000 in provincial court after company officials pleaded guilty to seven charges of emitting a contaminant into the environment and one charge of failing to immediately report the accident.

THE CASE FOR: Inco executive vice-president Roy Ashton, who is responsible for environmental issues, insists that Inco has done more than simply obey government regulations. "The accusations that we only respond to regulatory rules are mad," says Ashton. "We do more." Under the company's current chairman, Donald Phillips, Inco has launched a \$494-million abatement program that responds to the Ontario control order and is aimed at reducing SO₂ emissions to 285,000 tons a year by 1994 from the current level of 685,000 tons annually.

Company officials say that the program, which was announced in January, 1985, will include the installation of a new melting process for all materials that will extract sulphur from ore with magnetic separation. As well, the company says it plans to replace two huge natural-gas-burning furnaces that were used for metal smelting and produced carbon dioxide. Instead, Inco will use oxygen flash furnaces in which carbon dioxide results from a reaction between oxygen and sulphides in the ore.

The oxygen flash furnaces, which are a new technology developed by Inco late, produce no SO₂ emissions because they use oxygen, not fossil fuels. Now, company officials say that the new processing will, in fact, probably improve the firm's financial performance by lowering energy costs. Inco officials say that, because gas will not be burned and the mills are newly automated, the company will be one of the world's most efficient, lowest-cost producers of nickel in the world.

CONCLUSIONS: Even after Inco—which has operations in a total of 19 countries—meets the Ontario government's 1994 pollution-reduction targets, the firm's Sudbury smelter will remain one of the largest single-point contributors to acid rain in North America. For its part, the Ontario government wants, as guidelines proposed in 1983 as part of the control order against Inco, called on Inco to make a further, voluntary reduction in SO₂ emissions to 275,000 tons annually as soon as it is convenient for the company to do so.

Ashton contended that Inco is already struggling to reduce emissions to 285,000 tons annually. Despite the firm's improved performance, some critics say that it should be willing to voluntarily meet the Ontario government's recommended target of 175,000 tons a year.

ANN WALMSLEY is in Sudbury

EVERY TIME SOMEONE CHOOSES NATURAL GAS, THE GUYS DOWN AT BINCHER'S POND SEEM TO SING A LITTLE LOUDER.

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We owe it not only to ourselves, but to our children and the songsters at the pond.

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Can one person really contribute to a cleaner environment? The answer is yes.

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STANDARD LIFE

OIL AND IMAGE

THE CASE AGAINST: The petroleum industry is a leading target of environmentalists, who point out that fossil-fuel combustion produces carbon dioxide—a greenhouse gas. Some activists have called for national targets to reduce carbon emissions. But Petro-Canada and other large oil companies have resisted such measures. Earlier this year, the Canadian Petroleum Association—in which Petro-Canada belongs—issued an environmental report that argued that there is not enough scientific information about global warming to justify targets.

According to Petro-Canada's director of environmental affairs, Michael Robertson, the company played a major role in drafting the G8 report. He added that Petro-Canada is enhancing its operations to find ways of cutting greenhouse emissions, but that "the issue is complex." "Maybe an all-out strategy of CO₂ reduction is not the best way to go," says Robertson. "Certainly there is no simple solution."

In conjunction with other major gasoline retailers, Petro-Canada opposed a federal plan to prohibit sales of leaded fuel as of Dec. 1, 1995. Previously, Ottawa had said that the prohibition would take effect in 1993. Petro-Canada vice-president Robert Foddes said that the company's "early assistance" to the amended deadline was "based on timing and cost." But once it became clear that Ottawa would not back down, Petro-Canada moved swiftly to recover leaded gasoline from its pumps. It also ran television campaigns publicizing its decision.

The environmental group Probe International has criticized Petro-Canada's participation as an oil exploration in Ecuador. To reach a remote drilling site, the company built a nine-kilometre road through the rain forest. Biologists assert that the road will give rise to further development in the area, driving out native groups. According to Petro-Canada, police guard the road to stop settlers from entering.

Petro-Canada has repeatedly violated the Quebec environment ministry's guidelines for industrial discharges. In 1986, the ministry said that the company's refineries in Mississauga and Oakville were "sources of concern" because waste water from the plants contained toxic substances. Two years later, officials reported that the two refineries exceeded guidelines for industrial discharges during 13 of 96 inspections.

THE CASE FOR: Several of Petro-Canada's most advertising and promotional campaigns have focused on the environment. Last year, the Calgary-based company raised \$216,000 for the Canadian branch of the World Wildlife Fund. The money was channelled into a program aimed at saving some of Canada's 185 endangered species. Currently, Petro-Canada is running a professional campaign aimed at

raising about \$200,000 for a tree-planting program organized by Scouts Canada.

In 1986, Petro-Canada spent \$32 million on environmental activities, including expenditures on refinery waste-water treatment plants and storage improvements at the company's refineries and terminals. The company says that it will spend \$40 million over the next five years to guard against leakage from underground fuel-storage tanks.

In 1991, Petro-Canada says that it has developed a chemical treatment for the pulp-and-paper industry that is free of contaminants, which can turn into cancer-causing dioxins. And the company is building a plant in Edmonton that it says will produce a fuel additive that increases gasoline performance without causing additional harm to the environment.

CONCLUSION: Most of the money that Petro-Canada spends on environmental concerns is devoted to corporate-image campaigns or ways to avoid environmental disasters such as oil spills. But, in future, rising public concerns about global warming may pose a greater challenge to the petroleum industry.



Petrocan headquarters rises above Calgary's call to reduce carbon.

Petro-Canada

Head office: Calgary

Main business: Oil and gas exploration and petroleum-products marketing

Number of employees: In Canada, 6,468

Major installations: 6 refineries, 3,705 retail Petro/760 271 stations (7000 less 242 owned)

The issue: Carbon dioxide, fuel spillages and discharges of polluted waste water



Petrocan chairman Wilbert Moyer

particularly if Canada bows to international pressure to limit carbon emissions. But Robertson "Petro-Canada does not reject the idea that global warming is an issue, and we see that we are playing a role to solve it." But he added, "The solution has global ramifications." And, along with other oil companies, Petro-Canada will continue to run the risk of controversial accidents. In an era of acute concern about the environment, the oil industry can be an easy target. But with the demand for oil and gas continuing unabated, the companies can only hope to minimize the risks. □

TURNING UP THE HEAT

Scientists are predicting a dramatic rise in global temperatures

In the spring of 1938, a young university science student named Kenneth Hare attended a lecture at the headquarters of the Royal Meteorological Society in London. The speaker was George Callander, a British physicist who was trying to discover the cause of a gradual warming trend in Northern Europe and North America that meteorologists began observing in the 1880s. Callander speculated that the changes were caused by increased levels of carbon dioxide, a byproduct of fossil-fuel combustion that was preventing the sun's heat from being reflected back into outer space. It was an idea that had been circulating among scientists for decades, but Hare said that few people in the audience that night seemed impressed. "I guess you could say we were sceptical," recalled Hare, now 73 and chancellor of Trent University in Peterborough, Ont. "At the time, I don't think anybody thought that the topic was all that important."

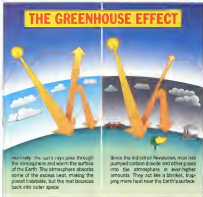
Half a century later, however, the theory that greenhouse pollutants are heating up the atmosphere is at the centre of an intense scientific and political debate—and prodding many governments into action. Some of the world's most eminent climatologists now predict that the average world temperature will rise by as much as 5° C by the middle of the next century—igniting widespread droughts, food shortages and sea-level rises severe enough to threaten many low-lying coastal areas. To avoid catastrophe, they say, nations will have to reduce sharply its dependence on oil, coal and natural gas—the fossil fuels that are the primary energy sources of modern Western economies. On the other hand, some equally qualified scientists maintain that the potential for global warming has been blown wildly out of proportion. They argue that there is not enough scientific evidence to justify making costly and wrenching changes in our current way of life.

Experts on both sides of the controversy say that it will take years, probably decades, before they will have the scientific answers. But as in the case of the ozone crisis, a broad range of environmentalists and policymakers is calling for strong action now to limit emissions of "greenhouse gases"—principally carbon dioxide, but also methane, nitrous oxide and other chemicals that trap infrared radiation close to the Earth's surface. Political leaders in eleven nations have agreed to convene a summit in Geneva for an international treaty to stabilize the global climate. Declared Kirk Dawson, the low-key but fervent vice overseas Canada's research on global warming: "If we wait for science to prove that climate change is real, it will be too late. We have to start taking action now in order to buy some time."

According to Dawson, the potential threat of global warming could solve any other environmental problem mankind has faced. In the effort to curb acid rain, he pointed out, governments in Canada and the United States staged negotiations on sulphur dioxide emissions by a handful of large mining companies and electrical utilities. Similarly, battling ozone deple-

tion will require a phase-out of chlorofluorocarbons, chemicals currently produced by only a few large companies (page 70). But the threat of global warming, if real, poses a truly more difficult—and expensive—challenge. "For the first time, an environmental issue has come face-to-face with the world economy," Dawson said. "This is not something that is going to be solved by one or two large companies. Each and every one of us will have to get involved."

Despite his initial scepticism, Kenneth Hare long ago joined the ranks of those calling for a reduction in the worldwide output of greenhouse gases. At the time, he was a chemist, but he began to take seriously the effects of runaway pollutants on climate after learning about the results of U.S.



studies in the late 1950s that confirmed that man's use of fossil fuels was increasing the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere. But in spite of the growing body of research on the subject, there said that, until recently, few Western climatologists displayed much concern about global warming. "I had a hell of a time trying to get people interested in climate change," recalled Hare, who helped to organize the first World Climate Conference in Geneva, sponsored by the United Nations in 1979. "For many years, I felt like I was pushing a very large ball uphill."

Gradually, though, the scientific tide began to turn. During the 1960s and 1970s, U.S. scientists began trying to represent the changing atmosphere mathematically on computers. The computer models were at best crude simulations of the real world, and the results varied. But after years of experiment, scientists concluded that doubling the amount of carbon



Here at home in his garden, Thatcher (below) endorses plans for an international treaty to stabilize the world's climate.

dioxide in the atmosphere would produce some warming, usually between 1.5° and 5° C, averaged over the surface of the Earth. In 1979, Canada responded to the growing scientific concern about global warming by establishing the Canadian Climate Centre, the suburban Toronto agency that flows reports worldwide. Recently, the centre published data on results of its own computer model. The model suggests that global temperatures would rise by an average of 3.5° C if carbon dioxide levels double (page 68).

But the real turning point for climatologists came in the greenhouse theory occurred in 1984. That was the year that Toronto played host to a 11.5-million-metre conference on the Earth's changing atmosphere, attended by 300 scientists and government officials from 146 countries. By coincidence or not—speakers there argued strenuously about whether global warming has already started—1984 was also the warmest year since scientists began keeping detailed weather records in the late 1800s. Across the Canadian Prairies and the U.S. Midwest, crops withered in the fields, rivers began to run dry and, in some communities, water shortages became routine.

Amid a barrage of media coverage, the delegates in Toronto endorsed a resolution calling for a 20-per-cent reduction in global emissions of greenhouse gases by the year 2005. "The Toronto meeting had a major impact," Stephen Schneider, a climatologist with the U.S. National Center for Atmospheric Research, wrote recently in his book, *Global Warming: An Inevitable Catastrophe*. He added, "Because of media attention in 1984, the issue is now firmly in the first of public consciousness."

Despite that, scientists are a long way from reaching many of the key questions that surround climate change. And scientists point out that existing computer models do a poor job of explaining previous changes in the world's climate. Currently, the atmosphere contains about 330 parts per million of carbon dioxide, compared with 280 parts per million in the late 1800s. According to most models, that should have raised the Earth's temperature by about 2° C.

In fact, the average global temperature has risen by less than half a degree since 1958—and even scientists believe even that increase may be part of the normal historical cycle of atmospheric warming and cooling. "On past performances, the models are off by at least a factor of four," said Richard Lindzen, a meteorologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Mass., and a critic of the global warming theory. "Either the models are totally inaccurate, or something else is delaying the response."

Lindzen and other greenhouse skeptics do not dispute that atmospheric carbon dioxide levels are rising and that the eventual result will be changes in the Earth's climate. But they contend that any significant warming, if it occurs at all, will not take place for hundreds of years, in part because the oceans are capable of soaking up much of the extra heat that would be trapped in the atmosphere.

Lindzen, for one, said that even if carbon dioxide levels do double within the next 50 years—in many experts' predictions—world



Percentage favour construction of more nuclear stations to replace older plants that have fuelled, by region:

British Columbia	48
Prerives	53
Ontario	62
Quebec	45
Atlantic	60



Percentage willing to drive less to reduce global warming:

British Columbia	68
Prerives	64
Ontario	62
Quebec	58
Atlantic	68

SEA LEVEL



A recent study by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences concluded that global sea levels would rise by 10 to 20 feet in the next century. Among the countries most vulnerable to sea-level rise are Bangladesh, Egypt and Indonesia.

TREE POWER

The federal environmental department says that people can also slow the greenhouse effect by using energy more efficiently and by planting trees—each of which absorbs more than 40 lb of carbon dioxide in a year.

Canada is considering joining West Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands with targets to cut carbon emissions

take another 300 years before the full effect of that change would be reflected in the world's climate. "It goes without saying that facts we will be using 300 years from now will be nothing like the ones we use today," he said. "Frankly, I think this will go down as one of those occasions/hysteria that years from now people will laugh about."

Another common objection to the greenhouse theory is that scientists still do not understand the full range of climatic changes that would be set in motion by higher levels of carbon dioxide. Much of the carbon comes on the role of clouds. Scientists point out that a rise in greenhouse should result in increased cloudiness, because warmer air is capable of absorbing more moisture. During the day, the additional clouds could offset the greenhouse effect by shading the surface of the Earth from the sun's rays. But at night, these same clouds could serve as a kind of atmospheric blanket, preventing heat from being radiated away. As yet, it is unclear whether the cooling effect of clouds during the day would exceed the warming effect they would have at night.

Nor is there any proof that global warming would lower overall agricultural production. On the contrary, higher levels of carbon dioxide would likely result in increased yields of some crops, because plants feed on carbon dioxide and oxygen. "I don't disagree that the surface temperature of the globe is going to warm up, even if we do not know when and by how much," said climatologist Patrick Michaels of the



Downside: the threat of global warming is unlike other environmental problems

University of Virginia. "But I mean, a smart person takes known and makes known."

Barth Michaels and London contend that many of the environmental activists who claim to be concerned about global warming have in their hearts a more realistic aim: to discourage the use of fossil fuels. "These people have been pushing for better energy policies for years, only it hasn't worked," London said. "So now they're trying to frighten

the strongest new environmental regulations— including measures that some ecologists say are necessary to limit carbon dioxide emissions and alleviate the threat of global warming.

To accomplish their goals, California's regulatory authorities are pushing the state's 28 million residents to make major lifestyle changes. Last year, state officials approved an ambitious 20-year plan consisting of 125 separate pollution controls and targets. The plan recommends that, by 1998, 40 per cent of all cars and 70 per cent of all commercial trucks in the state should run on electricity or clean-burning fuels, such as methanol. Other provisions include bans on herbicide-laden lawns and gasoline-powered lawn mowers.

But even these measures may not be enough to clean up California's air. As a result, the state legislature recently passed a bill that would be the strictest of laws on new cars. With the level of five major pollutants they produce. Currently, the state receives about \$700 in tax for each average-priced new car. Under the new law, buyers of low-polluting cars would

receive a full or partial tax rebate. But consumers who purchased high-polluting cars would pay the tax, plus a surcharge.

California will soon have a chance to take the green revolution one further. A major initiative—led by electric utilities, rather than Republicans, was a state legislator—who will be on the ballot in November—would force the introduction of a wide range of laws to eliminate harmful pollutants, outlaw new offshore oil drilling and ban logging in ancient redwood forests. Proposition 13B—also known as "Big Green"—also sets a target of reducing carbon emissions by 20 per cent by the year 2006. A recent poll found that 44 per cent of state voters supported the initiative, with 42 per cent opposed—a virtual dead heat. The outcome of the vote on Big Green could provide a model for environmental policies elsewhere in North America.

ROSS LARSEN with ANNE GRECOFF in Los Angeles

THE INSIDE STORY

TOURING



ONTARIO

By John Jones

borderline in the evening. Outside of Thunder Bay the countryside is quite rugged with a lot of pine trees and quite a few small lakes around the actual city. The fishing is excellent with a lot of pike and lake trout. Downhill and cross-country skiing are very popular in Thunder Bay. I started to ski when I was about four or five years old. I also grew up with snowmobiles and we would go right out the back of our house into the fields. I actually started racing in Thunder Bay going six racing in winter! I was racing a Volkswagen Rabbit on the frozen lake and it gave me a great opportunity to learn car control. The city has other interesting aspects including Old Fort Wilson on the banks of the Kaministiquia River and the Sleeping Giant Provincial Park. It's actually a peninsula shaped like a giant and you can see it from anywhere in Thunder Bay. Thunder Bay gives me a nice community feeling. It's a big enough city that you can find most things you need but still has a small town atmosphere. I travel on the racing circuit quite a lot and I really prefer a small town to the hustle and bustle of a large city. It's not congested and we don't have the major traffic problems of larger cities. It's a nice place to come home to especially in summer.

compiled by Laura Goldstein



John Jones, 34, was the youngest competitor in the CART/PPG Indy Car World Series. He was awarded the CART/PPG Rookie of the Year, the first Canadian to win the title. Jones is currently in Britain racing with a new team owned by three-time world champions, Jackie Stewart and Sir Alex Fergusson, by the Leinster Racing Group. He will compete in the 1995 FIA International Formula 3000 Championship, a series of 11 races in the European summer.

JOHN JONES descended THUNDER BAY and you can't find for your copy of THE INSIDE STORY and more information on touring in Ontario call toll free 1-800-ONTARIO or to the Toronto area 903-4028 and T2 12 (416) 903-6227.

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A BOLD PLAN IN CALIFORNIA

For most of its history, California has symbolized the American dream: a sun-glazed paradise of wide beaches and boundless opportunity. These days, however, the old dream of sunbathers and convertibles have given way to a far less inviting picture of life in the Golden State. Los Angeles, infamous for congested freeways and smog-filled growth, now suffers from the worst smog in the United States—even though the area has the country's toughest air-pollution controls. In an average year, according to the California Air Resources Board, there are 200 days on which pollution levels in Los Angeles exceed state health standards.

With a display of pioneering spirit that would make the state's early western pioneers proud, Californians are fighting back. In the process, the state has become a testing ground

the public into doing what they want. I argued that as duplicitous and silly." Added Michaels, "Global warming is an issue whose politics have greatly outstripped its science."

Among scientists who profess to be worried about the greenhouse effect, London's and Michaels's arguments have provoked everything from thoughtful debate to anger. Originally, Hare told Michaels's that London is "a first-class scientist." Later, when he learned that London had accused greenhouse deniers of pursuing a hidden agenda, Hare's tone became much less generous. "That's as good," he said, "as it is a terrible thing to say about a fellow scientist, but Dick London has not read the literature. There is a body of expertise that he and others appear to have ignored."

Like Hare, most environmentalists are quick to reject London's and Michaels's conclusions. But some scientists do concede that the scientific scores that assessed climate change have more often than not been skewed by politics. Indeed, Hare said that some politicians in Canada and elsewhere seem to have spoken out about the dangers of global warming simply to attract publicity and gain support from environmentally concerned voters. "Obviously, there is a lot of opportunism and personal ambition behind the environmental rhetoric," Hare added. "It's damn discouraging."

But the argument that political concerns have played a role in the greenhouse debate almost certainly cuts both ways. For his part, Michaels said that he is worried that public fears about global warming will give rise to "extremely interventionist policies" such as higher fuel taxes and tougher restrictions on industrial pollution. Similarly, the pro-business U.S. magazine *Forbes* warned its readers recently that concerns about the greenhouse effect could transform the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency into "the most powerful government agency on earth, involved in massive levels of economic, social, ac-

THERMOMETER RISING

The question has nagged climatologists for decades: how does man-made pollution influence the Earth's climate? To find the answer, scientists at Environment Canada turned to a \$20-million supercomputer housed in a government office building in the Mounties' suburb of Downsview. By feeding into the computer information about the Earth's geography, soil moisture, the role of clouds and other factors, the scientists created a mathematical climate model. Next, they asked the computer what would happen if human activity caused a doubling of the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere; most experts predict that carbon dioxide levels will double within 50 years, although they note that it would likely take a century or more for the climate to show the full effect of that change. The preliminary results suggest that average year-round global temperatures would eventually rise by 3.5° C. However, the warming effect would be stronger in the Northern Hemisphere, in part because the large amount of ocean south of the equator moderates changes in temperature. The computer-generated map (below) shows Environment Canada's projections of the possible rise in temperatures across North America.



curse and political spending and interference."

So far, President George Bush has resisted calls for concrete action to limit greenhouse-gas emissions, stressing the need for more scientific research. But Bush's cautious approach to climate change has left him clearly in the minority. The list of countries that have already announced tough targets to cut carbon emissions includes West Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, and Canada is considering following suit later this year. As *Forbes* noted last June, such measures may be the best form of insurance against an uncertain future. "Even though the lead of action may cost a lot, I believe it to be money well and aggressively spent, because the health of the economy and the health of the environment are totally dependent upon each other."

The international momentum for a treaty to stabilize the atmosphere is building. Next month, the heads of scientific and environmental agencies around the world are scheduled to gather in Geneva to review the latest research on climate warming. A week later, government officials will meet in the same city to consider possible responses—measures that could include more efficient use of fossil fuels, greater investment in alternative energy sources and a worldwide campaign to replant and preserve forests.

Meanwhile, Bush has offered to host an initial meeting of government representatives in early 1991 to begin negotiations on an international agreement on climate change. "Personally, I believe that we can rise to this problem," said Hare, who will lead a panel on climate research at the Geneva conference. "But the future will be a lot more difficult for us unless we start to take action now." As Hare is the first to admit, the real challenge will be to find ways of mitigating the climate-warming problem that do not seriously damage the economy.

JOSS LARSEN

An exclusive interview with Prime Minister George Bush.



President Bush and, from Maclean's, Editor Kevin Doyle, Washington Bureau Chief Meric McDonald and Washington correspondent Hilary MacKenzie

The second annual "Portrait of Two Nations" issue from Maclean's was a comprehensive look at current Canadian and American attitudes and featured an exclusive interview with President George Bush.

Also included was our "Portrait" Decima poll, which, among many other findings, revealed this fact: given a choice between the President and Brian Mulroney, 49 per cent of Canadians would choose Bush as their prime minister.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

THE OZONE HOLES

The elimination of CFCs would force a major change on the world

With his wispy white beard and soft voice, Berton Rivelle resembles a quiet academic rather than an environmental crusader. But during the past two decades, the Canadian meteorologist, 69 and now-retired, was a key member of an international group of scientists who spoke out against the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) as refrigerants, air conditioners and dozens of other products. Their research has shown that CFCs were probably destroying a layer of ozone in the stratosphere that protects the Earth from the harmful ultraviolet rays of the sun. And their long, determined campaign against CFCs culminated in two groundbreaking multilateral agreements—the first signed in Montreal in 1987 and the second in London last June—aimed at phasing out the production of CFCs by the year 2000. Said Rivelle, who lives near Hawkestone, Ont., about 100 km north of Toronto: "The planet cannot get along without ozone. That's why the political will is there to solve the problem."

Under the first agreement, known as the Montreal Protocol, representatives of 33 nations, which produce 75 per cent of the world's CFCs, agreed to cut consumption to one-half of 1986 levels by mid-1996. Then, last June, after further pressure from the international scientific community and environmental groups, more than 80 countries—including Canada, Britain and the United States—signed a new agreement calling for the halt in production of all CFCs and several related compounds by 2000. Meeting the deadline will require an enormous investment in the development of new chemical compounds to replace CFCs. Said William Bailey, general manager of fluorocarbon products with the Du Pont Canada Inc.:

"These products are everywhere. People don't realize that 100 per cent of the air conditioning, heat and refrigeration is in CFCs." Although CFCs are best known as cooling agents in refrigerators and air conditioners, manufacturers also use the colorless substance in the manufacture of foam cushions, fast-food packaging, furniture cushions and certain industrial cleaning agents.

But CFCs became a major environmental problem when they leak from functioning or abandoned equipment or discarded containers and eventually reach the stratosphere. As research director at the federal government's Atmospheric Environment Service from 1972 to 1979, Rivelle supervised a series of experiments in which helium-filled balloons carrying sophisticated measuring devices were launched in eastern Saskatchewan and returned over Calgary. The experiments showed that CFCs were migrating into the strato-



Rivelle on Lake Simcoe: a key architect of the Montreal ozone agreement

sphere, between 10 and 30 miles above the Earth's surface, where ultraviolet radiation from the sun dissolved the bonds between the chlorine, fluoride and carbon atoms that make up the CFC molecules. Each chlorine atom that was released attacked and destroyed up to 100,000 ozone molecules. According to scientists, some form of protective shield against ultraviolet light from the sun. Being their

Satellite map shows thin ozone layers (yellow lobes on either side of white circle) near Baffin Island and in Siberia, Feb. 21, 1989; a shield



projections on experiments, they say that destroying this shield could lead to a dramatic increase in skin cancers and eye cataracts, and weaken people's immune systems. Scientists also say that excessive ultraviolet light could damage crops, forests and marine life.

The elimination of CFCs will require an enormous change on the part of chemical producers, equipment manufacturers and consumers in the industrialized world, according to Du Pont's Bailey. He added that his firm, which is the world's largest manufacturer of CFCs, estimates that \$145 billion worth of installed equipment in North America uses or requires chlorofluorocarbons. Most of that equipment will have to be modified or redesigned to accept replacement chemicals, which have different characteristics than CFCs. Since January, 1988, 34 chemical producers from around the world, including Du Pont, have been conducting joint toxicity tests on alternative compounds. As well, General Motors Corp. has announced that its 11,000 North American dealers will recycle CFCs purged from air conditioners during servicing by 1991. Nissan Motor Co. says that it will stop using CFCs by 1993. Clearly, those and other moves will be a costly, but necessary, solution to a global environmental problem of alarming proportions.

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MAC ATTACKS

THE CASE AGAINST: The 1988 annual report for McDonald's Corp. made little mention of environmental issues. But in the current report, the company devotes 16 of the report's 68 pages—all of them printed on recycled paper—to a defense of its environmental performance against accusations that its disposable packaging adds to the garbage problem. The environmental group Friends of the Earth complains that Styrofoam packages take up more space than paper or cardboard boxes when buried in landfill sites, and that, unlike paper, the foam does not break down naturally over time. Last fall, hundreds of McDonald's customers in a dozen Canadian communities led by their food on claim they brought with them from home in two protests organized by the Green party in Ontario and British Columbia.

Environmentalists also criticize McDonald's for encouraging greater beef consumption in the 52 countries around the world in which it operates. McDonald's refusal to use beef from tropical countries where rain forests have been cut down for cattle ranching. Still, the critics argue that by adding to the worldwide demand for beef, McDonald's is putting upward pressure on beef prices—which, in turn, makes tropical cattle ranching more profitable. Many scientists say that the destruction of rain forests, which recycle carbon dioxide, has contributed to a warming of the Earth's atmosphere. As well, some environmentalists say that hamburger chains, by increasing the number of cattle—there are now more than a billion head of cattle in the world—are contributing to atmospheric warming in another way as cattle digest food, the bacteria inside methane gas, which scientists say is a major contributor to the so-called greenhouse effect, which traps heat inside the planet's atmosphere.

THE CASE FOR: Maurice Kriza, director of government and environmental affairs for McDonald's Restaurants of Canada, and other company executives vigorously defend McDonald's record. McDonald's argues that polystyrene containers, overall, are environmentally superior to paper and cardboard, partly because they require less energy to produce. Similarly, Kriza says that washing ceramic plates would use up larger amounts of energy and waste water. Company officials also argue that plates are not an option for the many customers who take their food out. And McDonald's notes that the company has not bought foam manufactured with ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons since November, 1988. Instead, McDonald's foam packing is now made from hydrochlorofluorocarbons, a substance that is believed to cause less serious damage to the ozone layer. (Some environmentalists are now demanding that McDonald's

eliminate foam packaging completely.)

Another advantage, of course, according to McDonald's, is that it is 100 per cent recyclable as plastic pellets that can be used to make other products. Still, Kriza concedes that, at present, fewer than five per cent of McDonald's restaurants in Canada separate foam from other garbage bound for landfill sites. In April, however, McDonald's announced a plan to spend \$16 million in Canada this year on supplies made from recycled materials, including plastic furniture for stores and food trays. (In the United States, McDonald's will spend \$180 million this year on its so-called McEco-cycle program. To that end, McDonald's already claims to have reduced the thickness of plastic containers and to have made its plastic straw lighter.)

Bob Gregory, the Toronto-based vice-president of purchasing and environmental affairs, rejects the criticism about beef supplies. He argues that the company stands local farmers in raising quality cattle without destroying rain forests or otherwise harming the environment, the most recent example being the Texas just

McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd.

Head office: Toronto
Main products: (Burgers, fries, other fast food)
Number of employees: 43,500 (about 45,000 part time)
Owner in Canada: GDS
Revenue 1988 (Profit not disclosed): \$1.2 billion (up 4 per cent over 1987)
The bottom line: More focus, organic waste and beef consumption



McDonald's Canada president George Cohen speeds



Patrons at Toronto's SkyDome: a growing concern about packaging

outside of Moscow that McDonald's proposed to supply its new restaurants in the Soviet Union.

CONCLUSION: Despite its new corporate environmentalism, McDonald's still traces much of its success to the policy of Dick and Mac McDonald, who always used throwaway paper plates and cups at the restaurant they started in San Bernardino, Calif., during the late 1940s. Today, despite more than \$6 billion served around the world, McDonald's is grappling with an legacy of speed and disposability in an era of mounting consumer concern. □

MIXED RESULTS

All 10 provinces have room to improve

How serious are Canada's provincial governments about protecting the environment? Nations assessed the performance of all 10 governments in six areas—including the environmental industry budget, the number of inspectors assigned to enforce laws and the number of convictions last year for environmental offences. The census also examined energy use from all sources* and which provinces reform regulations for drinking-water quality. Finally, the survey determined which provinces require environmental assessment hearings for major industrial or energy projects, with funding available for interested groups. On the basis of about 50 interviews with government officials and environmentalists, Martin's Department Editor Mark Nichols, Senior Writer Greg W. Taylor, Assistant Editor Bruce Brady and Special Reporter Brian Berman prepared the following report card, including a grade for each province.

*Energy consumption expressed as equivalent to litres of gasoline per day, per capita. Conviction average is 19.4 times.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Ministry budget/1988	\$123 million
Inspectors	221
Convictions/1988	284
Energy consumption	19.2
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

Key issues: clean-cutting of forests and discharge from pulp-and-paper mills. In May, 1988, Premier William Vander Zee's government proposed regulations requiring mills to reduce air and water emissions. Some mill owners insist that discharges in mill effluent are not a serious problem. Calixte Sanderson, a staff lawyer for the West Coast Environmental Law Association, says that pulp mills and other industries in British Columbia regularly emit prohibited effluent levels. Philip Jozang, energy adviser to Ottawa-based World of the Earth, insists that B.C. forest practices need improvement.

Grade: C+

ALBERTA

Ministry budget/1988	\$119 million
Inspectors	43
Convictions/1988	1
Energy consumption	30.7
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

In July, Environment Minister Ralph Klein outlined plans for clean-air legislation and related a draft environmental protection law. In the same month, Klein announced plans for tougher reforestation standards. In March, an environmental review ruled that a proposed pulp mill on the Athabasca River could damage

the river. But Premier Don Getty's government eventually backpedaled the project. Robert MacInnes, executive director of the Pembina Institute for Appropriate Development, praises Klein for being "enlightened and committed," but says that he is "trying to work with an essentially Newfoundland cabinet."

Grade: C-



Inco plant at Sudbury: measures to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions

SASKATCHEWAN

Ministry budget/1988	\$11.6 million
Inspectors	30
Convictions/1988	1
Energy consumption	23.2
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

In the wake of last year's Federal Court ruling that halted work on the Rafferty-Alameda Dam, Premier Grant Devine's Conservative government last month announced plans for a review of the province's 11-year-old *Environment Assessment Act*. Environmentalists claim that the act is largely ineffective. Ann Cosentino, an official of the Saskatchewan Environmental Society, says that there must be a reduction in the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides. A re-examination of agricultural practices, she said, is "crucial."

Grade: C

MANITOBA

Ministry budget/1988	\$12 million
Inspectors	60
Convictions/1988	16
Energy consumption	17.3
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

During the past year, controversy has flared over the announcement by Gary Filmon's Conservative government of two future megaprojects—a \$1-billion expansion of the Repap pulp mill at The Pas, and the \$5.5-million Cossapqua hydroelectric dam on the Nelson River. At the same time, Environment Minister Glen Clark's government introduced new environmental legislation, including laws to upgrade sewage treatment and reduce waste. But environmental lawyer Bruce Paswell criticizes the province for weak enforcement of environmental laws applying to forestry firms and energy developments.

Grade: C

ONTARIO

Ministry budget/1988	\$645 million
Inspectors	129
Convictions/1988	176
Energy consumption	23.8
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

During 1987, a multimillion-dollar fire at a high-level dump and a battle over the logging of old-growth timber in the northern Timiskaming region drew attention. Most environmentalists gave Ontario high marks for enforcing conservation laws, including measures to limit and reuse. Algoma Steel, a pulp-and-paper plant, has been ordered to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions by two-thirds by 1994. The Silver Star recycling program introduced in more

than 300 communities is highly successful, but critics have faulted successive governments for failing to make the soft-drink industry use only returnable bottles. Traffic and air pollution are acute concerns in Toronto. Despite some accolades, Joseph Smith, Ontario's environmental performance is ahead of other provinces.

Grade: B

QUEBEC

Ministry budget/1988	\$470 million
Inspectors	72
Convictions/1988	Not Provided
Energy consumption	16.4
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

Environment Minister Pierre Paradis has laid charges against steel-research companies in Saint-Georges for an recent months. Quebec has some tough environmental legislation on its statute books. But environmentalists say that the province is often slow to enforce its regulations. Until a treatment plant began operating in 1988, Montreal discharged virtually all of its sewage into the St. Lawrence River, a plan to treat Quebec City's sewage will not open until late next year. Ottawa and Quebec City have agreed on environmental impact hearings into the \$20-billion, 30-year expansion of the James Bay hydroelectric project. But David Gross, a spokesman for the Society in Quebec Politics, said that the Quebec government in the future might ignore environmental considerations on the project.

Grade: C+

NEW BRUNSWICK

Ministry budget/1988	\$33.2 million
Inspectors	18
Convictions/1988	29
Energy consumption	15.9
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

Environment Minister Vaughn Blaney says that the province's four-month-old Clean Water Act, which requires systematic testing of drinking-water sources in the province, is "probably the strongest in the country." Blaney, whose ministry was given new enforcement powers in July, adds that the government will stress that it is "really serious about the environment."

In 1988, government cleanup teams have been working to reduce groundwater contamination by digging up leaky underground fuel tanks. David Goss, policy director for the Conservative Council of New Brunswick, criticized the government for allowing the forest industry to continue widespread clear-cutting, that forced Fredericton for its waste management policies and for stricter enforcement of clean-air standards, particularly in Saint John, where air quality has been an issue.

Grade: C



Gros Morne National Park in Newfoundland: tougher enforcement is needed

NOVA SCOTIA

Ministry budget/1988	\$13 million
Inspectors	30
Convictions/1988	3
Energy consumption	14
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

Environment Minister John Leck admits that pollution in Nova Scotia is so severe that the "unbelievably clean water for public consumption" is becoming a problem. Critics say that Premier John Buchanan's Conservative government probably has the poorest environmental record in the country. Charles Maclean, executive director of the Nova Scotia Coalition for Alternatives to Pesticides, says that the government has an "unwieldy lack of authority" about ecological issues. The province had no environmental assessment act until last year. A December poll that ran from June 4 to 52 per cent of Nova Scotia respondents felt that the government was doing a poor job on the environment—the only province with a majority negative rating.

Grade: D

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Ministry budget/1988	\$7.6 million
Inspectors	15
Convictions/1988	30
Energy consumption	21.9
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

Environment Minister Gilbert Clements, whose ministry was created in June, 1983, says that

major environmental problems include air and noise and groundwater pollution. An estimated million tons of the Island's topsoil is lost each year as a result of poor crop rotation, single-crop farming and use of chemical fertilizers. Environmental ministry officials said that it will cost the province \$10 million to dispose of the waste generated by a planned potato-processing plant. But Premier Edward Liaw says high marks from environmentalists for enforcing a ban on unsustainable forestry practices 13 years ago.

Grade: B-

NEWFOUNDLAND

Ministry budget/1988	\$4.4 million
Inspectors	63
Convictions/1988	49
Energy consumption	25.3
Tap-water regulation	No
Environmental assessment	No
Status report	

James Ross, a co-chairman of the Newfoundland organization Action Environment, says that even though environmental problems are not yet severe in Newfoundland, the level of awareness in the province is "about 20 years behind the rest of Canada." Environment Minister James Koland admits that tougher enforcement is needed of the province's environmental laws, particularly in the areas of solid-waste control. Other officials admit that the province needs to build sewage treatment plants, currently, most sewage is dumped directly into the Atlantic Ocean. According to Ross, because of poor replanting practices, the province's three pulp-and-paper mills will "run out of trees by 2000."

Grade: C

THE RIGHT TO KNOW

Activists complain about Ottawa's penchant for official secrecy

It was an environmental scare that briefly turned the apple, a symbol of good health, into a suspected carrier of disease-causing toxins. At the center of the controversy in early 1999 was a chemical called dendrotoxin, better known by its trade name, Aler. Until last year, farmers in the United States and Canada sprayed Aler on certain red apple varieties to suppress the color of the fruit and extend its shelf life. But a report by the Natural Resources Defense Council, a private U.S. environmental group, drew attention to a more serious effect: the chemical said that some 6,000 American preschool children might eventually have been consuming residues of Aler and other agricultural chemicals. In the wake of that report, the Canadian Environmental Law Association demanded under the federal Access to Information Act that Ottawa release its toxicological studies on the product. Citing the need to protect national trade secrets, the government turned down the request—but continued to insist that Aler was safe.

The clash between environmentalists and government officials over Aler illustrates a dilemma that is at the heart of many ecological battles in Canada. The issue: how much does the public have a right to know, and to what extent is that right superseded by the government's duty to protect confidential information? Although Canadian decision-makers offer promises of full accountability, they often refuse to release information on the grounds that it is the property of the private companies that provide it. Environmentalists, in turn, criticize Ottawa and the provinces for restricting public access to environmental information in contrast to the more open approach in the United States.

The critique of environmental secrecy is lengthy. The federal health and welfare department has classified as confidential preliminary findings about the level of dioxin and furan—byproducts of the chlorination process used to bleach wood pulp—in a shellfish. British Columbia refuses to make public the amount of timber cut under license by private forestry companies. And in New Brunswick, provincial officials deny public access to the results of environmental inspections of pulp-and-paper mills. "Canadian information on environmental matters is hard to come by," said Peter Newman, a University of British Columbia policy analyst. "We are well served in a paternalistic system where Big Brother should be known best."

Since the launch of its so-called Green Plan last April, the federal government has spent \$8 million on private studies and public hearings to find out what environmental action Canadians want Ottawa to take. Yet the government refuses to divulge much of the information already in hand. "Consultation has to work both ways," said Stephen Hunt of the Canadian Arctic Resource Committee, an environmental research group. "We are given a blank shopping list on one hand, then told that we have no right to demand detailed answers to our own questions."

The federal government and six of the 10 provinces have access-to-information laws giving citizens the right to request information that is



Earth Day protest on Parliament Hill: a call for more public access

normally confidential. But many environmentalists say that the process is as frustrating—and unworkable—that they rarely use it. Only 190 access requests were filed with Environment Canada between June 3 and the beginning of September. By contrast, the department of supply and services has received 1,806 requests so far this year.

Even when a request is filed, there is no guarantee that it will produce results. Five months before the 1984 federal election, Friends of the Earth submitted a request to four federal departments to determine the environmental impact of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Only Environment Canada responded—two weeks before polling day. The material included press clippings offending environmentalists' complaints that the agreement would place extra demands on Canada's energy supplies and natural resources. Declared Kai Milford, Friends of the



Ontario apples: a stark contrast to the United States

Earth policy director: "There we were, standing about ourselves. They treat us as though we're only doing this for some lobby wish to be part of the system."

The situation in Canada is in stark contrast to the flood of information available in the United States. Canadian environmentalists joke that they can garner more information in one hour at a U.S. environmental conference than they could pry out of Canadian governments in a year. A decade-old federal health and welfare report on the safety of caplin— a fung-

icidal wood preservative that has been used since 1962. Said Robert Slater, who is an active lobbyist at the public level, we contribute to the Oil Boys network by creating an environmental elite—as great a danger as not having any information at all."

During hearings on The Green Plan this summer, witnesses repeatedly told the federal government that it must make "environmental literacy" a crucial element of its strategy to tackle ecological problems. "The lack of information makes effective policy-making difficult, if not impossible," said Frances Bengha, an official with the Canadian Academy of Aquatic Science and a former Environment Canada bureaucrat. "How can we judge success or measure progress without a well-informed public?"

For their part, federal officials acknowledge that many Canadians are deeply cynical about Ottawa's avowed commitment to cleaning up the environment. "People are apprehensive about the ability of the government to come to grips with environmental issues," said Robert Slater, Environment Canada's assistant deputy minister of planning. Still, Slater said that Ottawa does not intend to relax its information policy when it comes to environmental issues. "The system is far as it is."

In the case of Aler-treated apples, federal officials thought the debate was said to meet when Unocal Chemical Co. Inc., the Connecticut-based manufacturer of the chemical, voluntarily withdrew the product from the North American market last summer. Even so, the Canadian Environmental Law Association has appealed to the federal information commissioner to force the government to release its selected information. Said association executive director Thelma Vogel: "This is a much broader issue than just one chemical." This concerns the public's right to know about a product, any product, that is put before it. "Eighteen months after the group's original request for the information—and no one has responded—it is almost as if the association is still waiting for an answer."

E. KARE PULFON in Ottawa



Percentage of respondents willing to pay \$50 per cent more for a new refrigerator or air conditioner that does not use ozone-depleting chemicals, by age

18-24	69
25-34	74
35-44	79
45-54	74
55-64	66
65 or older	63



SAFETY SYMBOL

Since launching the program in 1988, the federal government has granted 24 companies the right to sell goods carrying the *SafeAge* symbol that alerts buyers to their environmental



safety. The products include recycled water and clock chimes and pollution-reducing paints. West Germany set up a similar program in 1976 and has now approved more than 2,000 products for certification.

AMERICA FIRST

In the United States, manufacturers must indicate on the label whether animal care is taken. *Chlorinated hydrocarbons (CHCs)*—only a few such products remain on the market. An earlier law forced companies to disclose whether their child deterrents contain phthalates. Canada has no such laws.

CANADA COMPARED

In a Maclean's/Decima survey last spring for The Nation poll, more Canadian respondents (20 per cent) named the environment as the most important issue facing the nation than any other issue. Despite that concern, some critics say that Canada has a record of overconsumption and waste. At a time when environmentalists are urging the world's industrialized nations to conserve energy, Canada is, on a per capita basis, the world's most profligate consumer. The table below compares selected nations in terms of annual per capita consumption of energy from conventional sources, expressed in barrels of oil*

Canada	66.09
United States	57.97
Sweden	47.77
Australia	39.53
Switzerland	35.24
West Germany	31.48
France	26.31
United Kingdom	26.48
Japan	24.53
China	4.41

*Data are based on fuel-use trends presented within *Compendium for the 1998 Session of World Energy 1998* and also from the Population Reference Bureau, Washington

WHO PAYS THE BILL?

Poor nations want the West to bear the cost

Environmentalists in industrialized countries frequently complain that their concerns are ignored by established politicians. But ecological activists in the Third World often face more serious obstacles. Take Choe Yoon-Lang, the 31-year-old secretary of Sabah, Alam Malaysia (SAM), an environmental group that campaigns to save tropical forests. Choe, a lawyer, was tossed out of the Malaysian state of Sarawak in April, 1989, when she tried to accompany a group of U.S. congressional staff members on a tour of the rain forest. Last July, state officials stepped up the pressure by denouncing Choe and her colleagues as "separatists and traitors" in protest of sabotaging the local economy. Still, in some respects, Choe has been fortunate: in the past three years, she and police have detained more than 300 other staff members—usually for a few days or a week—for obstructing logging roads in Sarawak. "The personal threats are always in the back of my mind," Choe said. "But, in a way, it has strengthened our desire to continue our work."

Choe's experiences are not unique. In many poor and developing countries, government

officials regard environmentalists with varying degrees of suspicion and outright hostility. And even many of those who generally endorse the aims of the green movement must that their first priority must be to raise the living standards of their people, even if that involves making environmental sacrifices. In their own defense, they argue that the ecological aims of the Third World—including the slash-and-burn destruction of tropical rain forests—pale by comparison with those of industrialized countries, where wastefulness and rampant consumerism have been accepted parts of life in modern times.

Now that the Cold War is over, some foreign-policy experts say that environmental issues are poised to become a major source of international conflict. And the struggle between rich and poor nations over the environment seems certain to intensify in the future as swelling Third World populations exert an ever-increasing strain on the Earth's fragile ecosystems. "The politics of this issue are really quite dangerous," said David Rumsok, a specialist on sustainable development at Ottawa's Institute for Research on Public Policy. "In a

lot of developing countries, any discussion of environmental problems is viewed as an attack from the outside."

Increasingly, Third World leaders are spending less time on what they see as unwarranted interference in their countries' affairs by Western environmentalists. Shortly before leaving office in 1989, former Brazilian president Jose Sarney—who government was widely criticized for passing policies that encouraged tropical deforestation—accused Westerners of deliberately plotting to undermine his country's already weak economy. His successor, Fernando Collor de Mello, is far more sympathetic to the aims of conservationists. But even Collor does not take kindly to environmental lectures from the West—a point he made clear in his inauguration address last March. Declared the new president: "The environmental issue cannot be discussed between governments as a negotiating tactic, as if countries should be divided off into the innocent and guilty."

Third World hostility to the environmental movement also surfaced at the Convention's summit in Kuala Lumpur last October. Typically, the opening sessions of Commonwealth conferences are notable for their almost complete absence of substance or controversy. But the host of last year's meeting, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamad, created a stir by publicly accusing the West of trying to make developing countries shoulder the burden of environmental action. Declared Mahatir: "Unfortu-

ately, the line taken by environmentalists is to lay the blame on poor countries and seek to force them to slow down their development as the means of restoring the environment which the rich have polluted."

African, Asian and Caribbean delegates greeted Mahatir's remarks with warm applause, in marked contrast to the subdued response of Canadian, British and Australian representatives.

The animosity between rich and poor nations on ecological issues is all the more disturbing given the urgent need expressed by developing nations for international co-operation to protect the Earth's resources. Granted, few experts would seriously dispute Mahatir's claim that industrialized countries—which account for 30 per cent of the world's population but consume 70 per cent of its resources—bear primarily at fault for the world's ecological problems. But so environmentalists never tire of pointing out, necessary action requires to be guided by the effects of its neighbors' policies. Canadians learned that lesson when sulphur dioxide emissions from U.S. smelters and coal-burning power plants combined to high levels of acid rain in Central and Eastern Canada, killing an estimated 14,000 lakes.

By the same token, no attempt to resolve the world's existing environmental problems can succeed without the full participation of the Third World. The problem of climate change is a case in point. For years, scientists have believed that industrialized countries are the main producers of carbon dioxide and other so-called greenhouse gases—which many experts say will cause global warming. Last June, however, an international research group led by the Washington-based World Resources Institute reported that developing countries already account for 45 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions. Much of that

was due to tropical deforestation, which contributes to the greenhouse effect in two ways: by releasing carbon stored in trees into the atmosphere, and by reducing the capacity of forests to convert carbon dioxide into oxygen.

Moreover, the study said that the contribution of Third World nations to global warming is likely to increase as their populations expand and they consume more energy for economic development. China, for one, has the world's third-largest renewable coal reserves and is counting on a rapid increase in coal consumption in order to improve the living standards of its one billion people. Already, coal use is rising by 3.5 per cent a year in China—making that country the world's fourth-largest producer of greenhouse emissions, according to the World Resources Institute.

Many ecologists hope that an international agreement to abate the burden of environmental action will be drawn up by June, 1992, the scheduled date for a major United Nations conference in Brazil on environment and development. According to Maureen Strong, a Canadian businessman and former senior federal bureaucrat who is the secretary general of the conference, the purpose of the meeting is to move beyond finger-pointing and encourage co-operation between the industrialized North and the developing South in cleaning up the planet. "I don't believe any country is entirely free of blame with regard to the environment," Strong added. "We all have our problems."

Unfortunately for Strong, the goal of international cooperation between rich and poor countries on the environment is still far from reality. The biggest hurdle involves money. Third World countries want to be compensated for the extra costs they would incur, and the potential earnings they would give up, by embracing the principle of sustainable development. "The most sensitive area at the moment is



Percentage of respondents willing to pay higher taxes to help Third World countries cope with environmental problems, by level of education.

Some high school	30
High-school graduate	37
Community college	42
Some university	46
University graduate	52



STOP

CROSS-PURPOSES

The worldwide campaign to halt rain-forest destruction has helped to raise up prices for tropical timber—making exports even more lucrative. The World Bank says that average prices for Malaysian hardwood rose 52 per cent between 1987 and 1989.



STOP

BUYING BRAZILIAN

Dore Fields Ltd., the Body Shop chain of cosmetic stores and the Ben and Jerry's Homemade ice-cream company are among more than 50 companies taking part in an experiment to market rain-forest products from the Amazon. The plan is to buy products such as Brazil nuts and pigments directly from Brazilian Indians and rubber-tappers with the aim of protecting the Amazon from cutting by ranchers and loggers.



Logger in the Amazon: accusations that the West wants the Third World to shoulder the burden

As poor nations try to modernize,
they complain of interference
by conservationists from abroad



tropical locality," explained Kenneth Pridemore, director of the World Bank's environment department in Washington. "The West is asking developing countries to cut back on logging to prevent any lasting environmental damage. But if they do that, it means forgoing the quick buck and accepting a much lower state of return." Already burdened by debt, widespread unemployment and—in some cases—political turmoil, developing countries are unlikely to make such sacrifices unless other nations agree to ensure transfer of knowledge and technology from North to South.

According to Pridemore, a 50-nation agreement signed in London last June to phase out production of chemicals that deplete the Earth's protective layer of ozone may serve as a model for future agreements to protect the global environment. Previously, China and India had refused to go along with a ban on ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) on the ground that it would cost too much to switch to nontoxic, less harmful alternatives. But both countries reversed their positions last June after Western countries promised to contribute \$100 million over three years to a fund that will help poorer nations make the transition to CFC substitutes. Canada agreed to provide \$15 million of the total. Said Steve Jurekewicz, deputy director of environmental policy for the department of external affairs: "It was tough to get everyone on board, but if Third World countries are going to go along with environmental controls, they have to be given the means to comply."

Relative to some other environmental problems, however, the CFC issue was small potatoes. Third World countries express concern about a planned United Nations treaty on biodiversity, which they insist would transform huge areas of genetically diverse wilderness into protected areas—off limits to future development. A similar controversy surrounds

Children in Calcutta (above): Canada's Strongest the biggest test for global cooperation will come early next year



discussions about a proposed international agreement to protect tropical rain forests.

But the biggest test for North-South cooperation will come early next year, when government representatives are due to begin negotiations on an international climate convention to cut down on emissions of greenhouse gases. The obstacles to such an agreement are legion. For a start, scientists disagree about the seriousness of the problem, and about which countries would lose the most—and which would gain—from the anticipated changes in climate. And the cost of compensating Third World countries for reduced logging and use will almost certainly be many times greater than in the case of CFCs. At the July economic summit in Houston, the West Germans floated a half-hearted-idea of a fund to help poorer countries for reduced logging and use will almost certainly be many times greater than in the case of CFCs. At the July economic summit in Houston, the West Germans floated a half-hearted-idea of a fund to help poorer countries for reduced logging and use will almost certainly be many times greater than in the case of CFCs.

Ironically, the rise of environmentalism as a major factor in international relations has finally given poor countries a powerful bargaining chip in their dealings with the industrialized world. Said Rensselaer: "Third World leaders are not prepared to give in such unless the West gives in on some of their demands, including debt relief and changes in unfair trading practices." And Rensselaer cautioned that the chances of a successful outcome to the 1992 Brazil conference will decline dramatically if there is little or no progress between now and then in talks on global warming. "Unless the developed countries are prepared to talk seriously about money," he adds, "the well of international cooperation is going to get very badly poisoned."

Indeed, if there is one thing that unites Third World governments and ecological activists, it is a belief that the cost of saving the planet from mankind's destructiveness should be borne by those who can afford it: most, the rich nations of the North. "Everyone talks about saving the rain forest, but they forget that the demand for tropical timber comes mainly from industrial countries," said Choe. She added, "People in the West love to talk about recycling and switching to so-called green products, but they aren't willing to change their way of life, which is based on unnecessary and wasteful consumption." Unless that changes, environmentalists say, the hostility between rich and poor nations is unlikely to fade.

ROSS LAYER

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SAFE TO DRINK

Laboratory tests of tap water gave seven cities a clean rating

When Czechoslovakia's President Václav Havel visited Canada last February, some experiences strongly impressed him. For one thing, Havel later told Morison's biographer, "I was fascinated by Canada's clean air and clean water." Havel said that during his visit, "I was surprised to learn that I was drinking tap water. No one in Czechoslovakia would do that." In Canada, concern about drinking water seems to have increased. Last year, Canada spent about \$150 million on bottled water and millions of dollars more on systems designed to treat water in their homes. The fears may be exaggerated. Last month, Morison commissioned a laboratory analysis of tap-water samples from seven Canadian cities. Technicians concluded that the water from all seven cities easily met accepted health guidelines and was perfectly fit for human consumption.

The tests of tap-water samples from Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax were carried out by Environmental Protection Laboratories Inc. (EPL) of Mississauga, Ont. Technicians put the samples through tests designed to detect more than 60 materials, chemicals and other substances. The results showed only two areas of possible concern. In Winnipeg and Ottawa, readings for suspected cancer-causing substances called arylamines were within the limits established by Ottawa and the provinces—but above the 100-part-per-billion level permitted as an annual average in the United States; the Canadian guideline is 300 ppb (1.4 parts per billion is the equivalent, roughly, of one drop of alcohol in 500 barrels of gin).

Despite that, EPL officials stressed that there was no reason for Winnipeg or Ottawa residents to be concerned. For all of the cities tested, said EPL vice-president James Bishop, a former director of the Ontario environmental agency's water resources branch, "the quality of drinking water tested is very high." Respondents in an August Morison/Globe poll seemed to agree: 83 per cent described their drinking water as safe.

The EPL analysis showed that some

of the most feared environmental toxins was present in detectable amounts in any of the samples tested. Among the substances that were raised out of concern, mercury, PCBs, dioxin, cadmium, tetrahalodioxin (a toxic industrial solvent) and nitrobenzene (a dry-cleaning fluid). Tiny amounts of aluminum were found in the water from six of the cities, but at amounts well within federal-provincial guidelines. Much larger amounts of aluminum—the Earth's most abundant metal—are present in food regularly eaten by Canadians than are found in drinking water. As well, sodium was detected in amounts well within accepted health guidelines in all seven cities.

Although the medical risks from tritohalobenzenes in drinking water are considered to be slight, most health authorities have set strict guidelines for them. The reason researchers have found that the family of arylamines, including bromochlorobenzene, hexachlorobenzene and dioxin/hexachlorobenzene, can cause malignant tumors in laboratory animals. Tritohalobenzenes are found when naturally occurring substances from decaying vegetable and animal matter in water react with the chlorine that is used to kill bacteria in Winnipeg, officials said that tritohalobenzene readings for the city's water averaged 63 ppb last year, below the Ontario Morison's reading. In Ottawa, the annual average tritohalobenzene reading in 1989 was 112 ppb, also below the lab test.

Some Canadian officials say they favor tougher guidelines for tritohalobenzenes. George Wood, acting head of the criteria section of the environmental health directorate of Health and Welfare Canada, said that when a federal-provincial subcommittee that establishes drinking-water guidelines met in January, seven provinces backed a proposal to set a stricter guideline. But officials in Ottawa said that Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Northwest Territories rejected the proposal. Still, Ottawa and the provinces seemed likely to agree eventually on a tougher tritohalobenzene guideline, to ensure the safety of Canadian tap water. Elsewhere, confidence already is high.



VANCOUVER

Takes its water from two protected mountain lakes. Water is treated by coarse screening and chlorination.

CALGARY

Drinking water from the Bow and Elbow rivers originates in the Rocky Mountains and the foothills. Treated with chlorine.

WINNIPEG

Water comes from Shoal Lake 140 km east of Winnipeg. A proposed golf course could boost the cost of treatment, which consists of adding chlorine and fluoride.

TORONTO

Lake Ontario water is treated by city filtration plants. Taste sometimes affected by harmless summer algal growth.

OTTAWA

Drives water from the Ottawa River where it is pretreated with aluminum sulphate to remove colour and organics. Chlorine is also added.

MONTREAL

Water is drawn from the St. Lawrence River. Treated by filtration and dechlorinated with chlorine and ozone.

HALIFAX

Serves in Peddocks Lake, 30 km northwest of Halifax. Chlorine-treated and bromine added to offset water's salinity.





THE ENVIRONMENT

A TERRIBLE PRICE

Neglect in East Germany is poisoning the heart of a continent

In the middle of a scrubby field between the East German towns of Bitterfeld and Witten, water rushes along two shallow canals towards the steady Middle River. As the late-afternoon sun glints off the surface of the water, it momentarily reveals a pattern of otherworldly colors: dark reds, fluorescent yellows and sparkling blues. The effect might almost be beautiful—but the prevailing chemical stink that rises up and grips the throat sends out a different message. The placid canals are draining the effluent from some of the worst-polluting industries in Europe, and the sinister rainbow is just the visible sign that tons of deadly chemical waste are still being poured into the poisoned heart of a continent.

East Germany was once the industrial pride of the socialist world. Its planners pushed the idea that big is beautiful: ever-taller smokestacks, ever-larger steel mills and ever-expanding production. The mindless drive to produce made the country richer than any of the other non-Communist nations, but at a terrible price. East Germany is one of the most polluted countries in Europe—and nowhere is it more contaminated than in the Bitterfeld-

Witten region, 120 km southwest of Berlin.

By a strangely unlikely combination of circumstances, the 75,000 people who live in the two small cities five kilometers apart are surrounded by some of the worst-polluting enterprises in the country. East Germany's biggest complex of chemical works, a sprawling film factory and vast open-pit coal mines. Konner Kohlen, a large and environmentally activist in Bitterfeld, suggests half seriously that the only solution to the area's problems may be a radical one: "Pave it over and start again," he jokes.

Such black humor is inspired by Bitterfeld's nightmare inventory of woes. It begins in the air, with the dust and sulphur dioxide produced by mining and burning the soft brown coal that fuels the industries and heats the homes of East Germans. The black dust lingers a grimy airway and houses, while the sulphur fumes eat away at the residents' buildings. Levels of both pollutants are 15 times greater than the already high average for the rest of East Germany. The result is a kind of darkness at noon. During the long winters, say local people, the sun rarely breaks through the grey-brown haze that hangs over the town.

But while the filth in the air is most visible, even more damage is being caused below the ground. Long before the Second World War, the area was the centre of Germany's chemical industry, and its poisonous byproducts were disposed of with few controls. And even though West Germany imposed strict limits on dumping by the 1960s, the Communist East did not. For another quarter-century, industry buried its wastes in unmarked dumps and poured toxic byproducts into canals and rivers. Since last December, after East Germany's democratic revolution, environmentalists have been trying to catalogue the damage. Günter Eckstein, director of the area's badly overworked environmental protection department, says his staff has located 80 toxic dumps so far. "There are probably hundreds of others," he says wearily. "No one knows for sure."

In fact, while authorities agree that the area's problems are severe, some can say with confidence just how bad they are. East Germany did not have the type of sophisticated pollution-monitoring equipment standardized in the West. And the political climate strongly discouraged active investigation of the prob-

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

len. (Barth Strubler has been head of environmental protection for the giant OBO film factory in Witten for 13 years. In the early 1980s, he recalls, his staff prepared a lengthy study of the plant, along with recommendations for cleaning up the worst sources of pollution, and sent it to government planners in East Berlin. "We were told almost immediately to destroy all the copies," Strubler says now.

"It would have cost too much and slowed down production. Everything was produced, processed, produced—and to hell with the rest."

Despite a shortage of reliable studies, however, there is little doubt that high levels of pollution have harmed the health of local people. Rainer Kieber, the Bitterfeld doctor, says that many children suffer from chronic bronchitis, skin rashes and other complaints directly related to dirty air and water. "If they aren't away for a few weeks to somewhere clean, they start to improve right away," he said during a break in his rounds at the local hospital. "Two long, thin black lines for a couple of months, and they're as bad as before." As a result, all children in the area are now sent away to a seaside or forest camp for at least four weeks a year to let their bronchae clear air. But even that may not reverse all the damage. Kieber's surveys have shown that Bitterfeld's children tend to be shorter than the East German average by about half an inch. "It

is becoming an area of old people," he says. "The young want to leave, they don't want to raise their kids here."

Faced with such problems, officials in Bitterfeld and Witten confirm that they feel about pollution. In the short run, they say, all they can do is close the worst-polluting factories and

closing factories cannot be the only solution. The chemical complex and coal mines provide 40,000 jobs in the area, and most workers are unwilling to join the unemployment lines in the case of a clean environment. Says Ginter Eckstein: "They know we have an ecological disaster on our hands and so we are prepared to exchange it for an economic disaster."

Still, there is some hope. West Germany has pledged about \$700 million to help East Germany close up its environment, and the treaty between the two countries that went into effect on July 1 aims to bring Eastern industry up to Western ecological standards by the year 2000. Already the East German government has set up a commission, along with Western experts, to study the Bitterfeld-Witten area and draw up plans for its revival. In his office in Witten, Eckstein talks of what is needed: modern pollution-testing equipment; scrubbers to clean smokestack emissions; devices to extract the most potent pollutants, such as mercury, from water before it is dumped and much more. But what the area really needs, he contends, is to replace its filthy industries with entirely new factories. And that could well be beyond the financial means of even West Germany for a generation or more.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Bitterfeld



Cyclist in Bitterfeld, chemical works in background (opposite). Eckstein: a canal of earthwork's colors

out back on coal mining. The plants already shut down make a colliery factory that poured 20 tons a day of waste organic material into a drained mine pit—resulting in a half-mile-long, shimmering pool of "stagnant, stinking liquid brown locally as 'Silver Lake.' But

THE WAY AHEAD IN HOLLAND

If East Germany's ecological disaster stems from the simple misery of the past, the Netherlands may well point the way to the future in tackling environmental problems.

This month, the Dutch parliament is scheduled to debate a wide-ranging plan that, if adopted, would spell out the most comprehensive "green" goals of any country in the world. Called the National Environmental Policy Plan (NUPP), the document draws together far-reaching proposals in virtually every field its ambitious target is nothing less than solving the Netherlands' environmental problems within one generation.

Those problems are acute. The Netherlands, with nearly 15 million people crowded into an area less than three-quarters the size of Nova Scotia, is one of Europe's most densely populated countries. Seaward encroachment, dumping their wastes there, through both surface pollution and the heavily contaminated Rhine River, which empties into the North Sea near Rotterdam,

And the Netherlands is unusually vulnerable to the threat of global climate change, fully half the country is already below sea level, and any rise in ocean levels would inundate nearly one-third of the country's land area.

These problems, combined with traditional Dutch sensitivity to environmental concerns, have put green issues at the top of the country's political agenda. In the summer of 1989, in fact, disagreement within the coalition government of Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers over a proposal to scrap tax breaks for people who commute to private cars prompted him to call an election. It was the first time that an environmental issue had led to the dissolution of a European government.

Among the NUPP's many goals is the halt in production and exportation of ozone-depleting CFCs in the Netherlands by the end of 1993—two years ahead of a deadline set by the European Commission. Holland also proposes to end the growth in carbon dioxide emissions by the end of 1994, and then to cut, on average by 5 to 6 per cent by the end of the century. That is to be accomplished by a combination of mandatory limits and tax incentives, some of which are already in force. They include Europe's first "carbon tax," which makes fuels

that emit relatively high levels of CO₂ such as coal more expensive than those with a low carbon content (such as natural gas). Another measure is to encourage car pooling as a countermeasure to pollution. A government tax reduction worth up to \$1,100 for purchases of cars equipped with catalytic converters is a result.

As a result, new cars sold in Holland are now fitted with the pollution-fighting devices. If the treaty is adopted, Holland will probably double its spending on environmental protection to \$10.4 billion a year by 1994. At its peak, in the year 2010, closing up the environment could absorb as much as 3.5 per cent of Holland's total economic output. Although some critics doubt that the plan's rhetoric will ever be matched by action, most environmentalists applaud its comprehensive approach. Says Graham Bennett, director of the Dutch office of the Institute for European Environmental Policy: "It forces policymakers to do as well as what we as society and nature want them to do to take the environment." It is an exercise that could provide a road map for other nations of the globe.

A.P.

TRANS-CANADA TRASH

With 20 million tons of garbage a year, recycling is catching on

There have been gratifying rewards for Willem Merks in picking up after the 30,000 people in his community, not to mention the 18 million or so who visit there every year. Merks is the manager of housewrecking at downtown Toronto's 20-store Toronto-Dominion Centre—where four office towers have a combined 360 stories, 150 corporate tenants and a workforce population the size of small towns. Each day, the people who work, shop or eat at the TD Centre create approximately 18 tons of garbage. Merks used to be responsible mostly for having it hauled away, which cost about \$40,000 a month. Then, last October, Cadillac Fairview Corp. Ltd., the centre's property manager, cut its monthly disposal bill by about \$116,000 when it signed a deal with a recycling company that takes waste paper every six to eight weeks. "We're saving money every time we pay a charge. See? Not a penny," the paper company once pays as a couple of thousand dollars a month.

Cadillac Fairview's experience is just part of a nationwide struggle by companies and municipalities to deal with the mountain of refuse Canadians throw away every year—nearly 35 million tons, or enough to bury a four-lane highway from Windsor to Vancouver two feet deep. Canadians pay \$1.5 billion a year to have most of that trash burned or buried, processes that environmental groups such as the Toronto-based Pollution Probe Foundation say poison the air and contaminate the soil.

To reduce the amount of solid waste sent to incinerators and landfill sites, many environmentalists have long been lobbying politicians, the packaging industry and local governments to explore three alternatives: recycling such materials as paper, glass, metal cans, rubber and plastics, reducing the volume of trash thrown away, and reusing more of what is left.

Politicians have been responding to the growing public support for cleaning up the mess. The Ottawa-based Federation of Canadian Municipalities in November, 1988, called for a 50-per-cent reduction in packaging, which makes up at least one-third of all household garbage, by the end of the century. Last March, the federal and provincial environmental ministers agreed to a similar goal. And yet not the year 2000 is the deadline for achieving a 50-per-cent reduction in the amount of waste Canadians generate—an average of 3.9

kg a day for every citizen, making Canadians the world's most prolific producers of garbage. According to a recent report by Pollution Probe, Americans and Australians are tied for second with 3.5 kg a citizen, while West Germans discard three pounds each. In China, the rate was a mere one pound per person.

Now, recycling is catching on. As in many offices, workstations at the TD Centre have two waste-bins—one for recyclable paper, the other for the rest of the day's waste. According to Merks, the recycling bin takes at least 75 tons of used paper from the office complex each month. Sometimes, said Merks, when tenants discard corporate literature, the load of recyclable paper includes "three or four tons of prospectuses."

Similarly, communities in Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Manitoba and Newfoundland have started curbside pickup of glass, paper, metal and plastics for incineration—the so-called Blue Box program—in order to reduce dependence on dumping and burning. But those programs are coming under increasing attack. According to Pollution Probe, recycling shuffles only about five to seven per cent of total waste. As a result, the organization says that the ultimate solution to the garbage crisis lies not in recycling, but in encouraging people to create less waste.

During the Ontario election, New Democratic Party Leader Robert Rae—whose party won a sweeping victory last week—accused the province's soft-drink industry of helping to undermine the province's Blue Box program because it wants to continue using disposable cans instead of the refillable bottles advocated by conservationists. And last April, 13 months after the promise called for a 50-per-cent reduction by the year 2000 in the volume of waste going to landfill sites, Ontario Environment Minister James Bradley agreed to relax a regulation requiring the soft-drink industry to use 50 per cent of its products in refillable containers. Said Metro-politician Toronto City Commissioner Robert G. Ferguson: "There is a body of opinion that says the Blue Box program is not the most efficient way to do this thing. It is a fallacy to think that because we have it, we do not need landfill sites." Ferguson said that several thousand tons of recyclable material are currently being stored by Metro-politician Toronto because of a processing backlog, dollar prices for recycled paper and problems in removing impurities from used glass collected by the city.

Cities and towns across the country are feeling the need for new landfill sites. Last winter, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities surveyed 71 towns and cities across the country and found that more than one-fifth of them—including most of the larger communities—expected to run out of landfill space by 1995. "The most pressure for more landfill space is being felt most strongly in Quebec, the Prairies and Ontario," the federation said in a report. Among Ontario municipalities, the fabled solution to the landfill shortage was to encourage

residents to reduce the amount of garbage they throw away, the rest of the country ignored recycling. Ferguson said that Metro-politician Toronto this year will dispose of 3.2 million tons of refuse at a cost of \$40 million. One of the region's two landfill sites will be full by December, 1991, and the other one two years later. The Metro Toronto government is currently negotiating with the zoning commission of Kirkland Lake, 500 km north of Toronto, for a new site. But the negotiations have stalled over

soft-drink containers be refillable. Quebec, which recycles 61 per cent of soft-drink containers by imposing a refundable deposit on everything from cans to large glass bottles.

● **Alaska**, where in 1992 it will become unlawful to use packaging that cannot be recycled. The Alaska state of Nukachuk already compacts or recycles two-thirds of all household and industrial trash.

● **Vancouver's Avonby Bay** Ltd., which in 1985 resumed home deliveries of milk in refillable glass



Montreal recycling depot: enough to bury a highway from Halifax to Vancouver

lowering among such Kirkland Lake residents. Hauling rubbish long distances for disposal is costly in the waste-management field in "exporting." Environmentalists strongly oppose the practice, but say that it is inevitable if the amount of refuse Canadians pick up is not sharply reduced. In its 1984 paper, Canadian Green Consumer Guide, published last year, Pollution Probe said that consumers could help achieve that goal by carrying their own shopping bags to stores instead of depending on merchants to supply them, by buying more bulk foods, which would mean less packaging to throw away, and by having broken or worn articles, such as shoes, repaired instead of discarding them and buying new ones.

As well, the Guide urged on several Canadian and foreign companies and jurisdictions for passive cooperation measures. Among them

● **Prince Edward Island**, which requires that all

bottles. The company has used refillable bottles since it began doing business in 1908.

This year, Metro Toronto's Ferguson will encourage the disposal of enough garbage to create a landfill field-sized column nearly a mile high. "We certainly have to reduce the volume of waste," he said. "We have to reuse more of it. But even the province is not supporting that, because they are allowing soft-drink distributors to make all kinds of containers that do not accept reuse." Asked Ferguson, "The public puts waste at the curb and they want it all recycled, although they have no idea how that can be done. That leaves the people who have to manage the waste with a problem, because they have no support for the solutions they recommend, which are reducing and reusing." In Toronto and communities across the country, that situation may begin to change only when the market for recycled waste is greater, when there is no one room for landfill and no place left to put the garbage.

RAE CORRELL with correspondent reports



Percentage favouring a law to require recycling of newspapers, magazines, cans, glass and plastic

British Columbia	79
Quebec	78
Ontario	65
Quebec	66
Atlantic	69



SCRAP HEAP

Scrap of reusable steel, especially engine components—even car hoods—can be sold as scrap metal, usually much above scrap prices—now available at rates



that prices in many communities. During winter months, non-ferrous scrap also can be driven on the domestic job and will likely be "hot" when the season unfolds again.

GREEN GUIDES

The book The Canadian Green Consumer Guide and 2 Minutes a Day for a Greener Planet, and Environment Canada's booklet What We Can Do for Our Environment, contain many recycling tips and sources of information on shops that sell reusable products and other household items.

Ferguson: "We have to reduce the waste"



THE ENVIRONMENT

THE GREEN GENERATION

Schools are the new centres for activism

In June, 1988, a band of 16 grade-school students, accompanied by teachers and parents, gathered on the banks of the Little River, a sluggish stream that wanders along the eastern city limits of Windsor, Ont. Part of the region's storm-sewer system, Little River over the years had become a trash dump for local residents. Despite that, the stream's wetland habitat still supports a population of turtles, muskrats, herons and other wildlife. Wearing hip waders and armed with shovels and rakes, the children and adults began cleaning up a 100-yard stretch of the river. In just over two hours, the volunteers made a pile on the shore that included more than 100 automobile tires, two kitchen stoves,

a washing machine, a plane children's sunning pool, cans, bottles and rusted auto parts. Stephanie Haynes, an 11-year-old who started Grade 7 last week at Windsor's Concord School, said that Little River should be restored to its natural state and expressed anger for the people who polluted it. "They need an attitude change," she said.

Because of the dramatic growth in environmental teaching that is sweeping Canadian classrooms, many of the children now in school are likely to grow up with strongly defined attitudes about such issues as conservation and waste, than their parents. Even though government guidelines in many provinces do not prescribe curricula on the environment,

education officials say that teachers across the country are increasingly attracting their students about ecological issues. Douglas Saper, director general of the Vancouver school board, for one, says that environmental topics are popular with both teachers and students. Saul Super, "It's definitely in the air. Almost every school in the Vancouver district probably has some sort of environmental project on the go during the school year."

At Concord School, the environmental unit of one of the school's teachers, Ian Naisbett, resulted in the Little River cleanup project. Since Naisbett led members of his Grade 6 science class on the first cleanup expedition, students from the school have been back to the river four times and have now cleared rubbish from a 100-yard stretch of the two-lane river. Throughout the project, said Naisbett, he has tried to draw home the same environmental lesson to his students. "I show the kids Little River," he said, "and I say, 'That's what we're doing to the world.'"

The message is not lost on the students. Saul Jonathan Gould, 13. "We're really starting to see that we have a problem with the environment. But a lot of people have the attitude that maybe we'd do something about it tomorrow. If we think like that, nothing will ever get done." Added Stephanie Haynes: "People have to get away from the idea that it's OK to throw things just anywhere. They have to understand how pollution hurts everyone."

Naisbett began encouraging environmental

projects, such as setting aside a section of the school yard as a habitat for local birds, after he started teaching Grade 6 science at Concord School, at Windsor's east end, three years ago. Then, early in 1988, he received a letter from the Ottawa-based Canadian Wildlife Protection League that \$200 grants were available to community groups that wanted to restore damaged wildlife habitats. The father of one of Naisbett's students suggested that he consider Little River. Naisbett, 41, moved to Windsor from England with his family when he was 7 and remembers catching tadpoles in the river when he was a boy. When he revisited the polluted waterway last year, Naisbett said, "It was a sad sight. It really hurt me. I thought, how could we have let this happen?"

Since Naisbett and his students launched the cleanup project, other groups have joined in. Indeed, on April 21—on the eve of Earth Day—a total of about 300 people, including students from the University of Windsor and children, parents and teachers from five Windsor grade schools, worked at removing rubbish from the river. By June, Naisbett said, volunteers had pulled out of the shallow river about 300 automobile tires, five washing machines, two kitchen stoves, a large kitchen freezer with double doors, and a small number of car parts and other abandoned objects. In June, Naisbett and some of his students returned to the banks of Little River and spent two days planting 650 shrubs and trees, including 30 black spruce and 50 white ash, obtained from the provincial government and a local environmental group.

As schools across the country, children are engaging in a wide variety of environmental projects—from reports to cleanups—and they are becoming

to know why they can't swim or fish in it." She added, "It is important that the children do not think everything is negative, so we also write letters to politicians and company heads who are doing positive things for the environment."

As evidence of the growing interest in the environment among young people, the Vancouver-based Environment 10 Youth Alliance now claims a membership of 17,000 people between the ages of 13 and 24 across the country. The alliance, which draws many of its members from high-school environmental clubs, was founded last year by Jeffrey Gibbs, a native Vancouver who took part in the 1985-1987 campaign to halt logging of the old-growth forest in the South Moseley region, a group of islands 600 km north of Vancouver. The organization serves as a link between student groups and distributes information on environmental issues. Gibbs says that environmentally conscious young people are becoming a potent force for change. "Politicians take students seriously," says Gibbs, "because they know they'll be voting in a few years. The power there is incredible."

Indeed, some of Ian Naisbett's students are already helping to sue the political process. When his 15-year-old father, 13-year-old James Macdonald, wrote a letter to Shirley Peterson, wife of outgoing Ontario Premier David Peterson, asking her to help prevent a piece of abandoned bridge Lake St. Clair from being destroyed during the development of a proposed golf course. Mrs. Peterson wrote back, saying that the provincial government was looking into the matter. Said the boy: "I think the government will do the right thing—at least I'm hoping." Joseph Franklin, 14, was less optimistic about government policies. "Governments," he said, "don't usually do anything if it's too late."

Not all of Naisbett's pupils have become convinced environmentalists. When he was asked what he would do if he owned shares in a company that polluted, 13-year-old Steven Ching replied that "he'd be honest. It wouldn't sell my stocks. You can't stop every industry from polluting. You can't make or recycle everything, can you? But when it is Naisbett's students say that they are confident the world will become a greener and more sustainable place in the future if the human race does not neglect its ways. Said Joseph Franklin: "I think if we don't save the environment, there won't be anything left for future generations—to place in us, or place to feel good. Companies will just continue to be." Added Jonathan Gould: "The present generation is doing more environmental damage they were doing. Now instead of taking a lot out of the environment, we will have to put a lot into it to save it." But carrying out that simple prescription will likely prove far more difficult than raising Little River to its former state of natural beauty.

MARK NICHOLS in Windsor



Windsor teenagers planting trees, cleaning up Little River (opposite); trees, automobile parts and a freezer



Poll: Saving the environment is important. Drinking water, even with higher rates

British Columbia	42
Prince Edward Island	37
Ontario	37
Quebec	32
Atlantic	48



SHREDDING TREES

Canadian dispose of about 22 million trees each year. Felled in days—or chosen in years—they can take 80 years to decompose. In Japan trees must be shredded before they are chopped.



COMMUNITY CLEANUP

Environment Canada's Pasture Fund will pay community groups and clubs half the cost of recycling and conservation projects—up to \$200,000 per three years.

DRY GREENING

The cleaning activists' jurisdiction (formerly known as Part 1) is used in dry cleaning, although it is a regulated cleaning, that consumes less groundwater and landfill sites were depleted. Technology is available that allows dry cleaning to be achieved with dry cleaning solvents. Reducing their use.



From a 'log embassy' to Tom Kierans

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Nothing is sacred. There is no hope. It's as though Shirley Temple was a leader. Bushy played around. W. C. Fields was a close evangelist. How else to explain that the Red Rhodes have captured Bay Street? The fearless jokers are in control of the heartland of Canadian capitalism, the richest and most populous province where John David Katsos and Conrad Black did once roam. There is clearly something wrong. When David Katsos, once the home of the tight-rope walker, goes for the New Democrats, one knows that the world has gone wrong.

We do not even have to mention that this weekend's event, celebrating the announced Toronto papers who too late saw it coming, promises the daily advent of new governments in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan in the coming months. Those irresponsible, loopy newspapers have long flirted with what seems for socialism in the 1990s. Ontario, and Toronto, are something else. The *Week's* tracks even now are laid out for after ground—North Dakota!

A young lady who used to date Bob Rae in his dating days would tell us those times that when he grew bored at parties he would retreat to a corner and stand on his head. That he would now do the same thing to accepted politics in this country is infinitely appropriate.

The great club who used to enter that the central scandal was "born in a log embassy"—the reference being that the son of respected diplomat, Saul Rae, somehow couldn't be sincere, considering his family background in Geneva and elsewhere. The puzzling theory that to be a socialist one perfect has to be poor carries with it the analogy that to be a conservative one has to be rich. Neither true nor situation.

Rae's only sin is that he came from an interesting family. Brother John is a high executive at Power Corp and, so much, the kinship or behind John Davidson's rise to almost-power. Sister Jennifer was a celebrated beauty and character, a *People* magazine date, at those 1968 days of *Country* by the *People*.

Premier Bob was a Rhodes Scholar, as was



that brief prime minister, John Turner. As was 300-year David Lewis, (father of Stephen Lewis, who—as stressed columnist Doug Fisher attests—will probably be the federal leader of the party post-Budry McLaughlin and possibly Canada's first "socialist" prime minister. When David Lewis applied for his Rhodes, the president of the CTR who was on the application committee asked him the first thing he would do if he ever became prime minister. "Nationalize the CTR," replied young David. He went to Oxford. I digress.)

Premier (A.K. his sister Lewis, could not restrain in his early days at Ottawa as an MP has gift for the aging line. He once said a certain politician "made John's honest look like a loose player." It was more in the mode of the Oxford faculty lounge and made him appear either too clever for the hairy-bushy of the Commons.

There are those of us who thought he was

too imperial, and amuse, when he retreated to the Queen's Park leadership rather than wait for the Red Rhodes retirement—he being the obvious daughter. He is in fact confirmed that opinion last year when he felt his Ontario chances hopeless and was about to enter the NDP-federal leadership race until a private poll declared him to be the face with cold water by showing that Western Canada (and the core of the party's federal caucus) knew little about him and remembered nothing but a product of hated Toronto.

Such a life. Denied an eye-glazing chase as No. 2 in Ontario, he now controls the province that controls Canada. The *Toronto Star* expert concluded that he had come last in the leaders' televised debate, apparently because his guests were failing and there was chaos in his upper lip. The voters didn't seem to care, while watching David Peterson applying himself to death.

As Bay Street quivers and quakes, Premier Bob with his address card has one crucial decision to make to placate the engine-account crowd at Watson's. It is a brilliant inspiration, offered here free of charge—the going rate from this page. The Toronto Stock Exchange, and palpitating foreign investors, will be most concerned about the Red Rhodes having a lesser minister they can talk to.

The choice is simple. Rae around—and delight—his critics by going to Tom Kierans, son of the most intelligent man in Canada. Kierans, nudged by a new wife to get something back into the head that made him a millionaire, has recently fled Bay Street to run the C. D. Howe think-tank and cheer the Royal Ontario Museum. This is all worthwhile, but he is a trade unionism

played. He has always been a radical thinker and his grey matter would run rings around the contorted high social servants who think they can control Queen's Park forever. Rae could open up a seat for him immediately and he would be smart to throw a live election within months (while stockbrokers storm and tattered leaders willingly went out and placed loan signs for him at midnight.)

It's an obvious stroke of genius. Tom Kierans would be to a Rae government what his Scott was to the Peterson government: the rock upon which he would build his church. Bay Street would be soothed, Wall Street would swoon upon being faced with a chap of their own liking who could talk the lingo—and Kierans could put his fertile mind to work on a society that he quite passionately opposes, in a pinch and otherwise.

Do not waste Ontario deserves above this brilliant, but there it is.



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